REPORT RESUMES

ED 010 376 24
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY COORDINATING PROCEDURES AND READING ACHIEVEMENT.
BY- LITWAK, EUGENE AND OTHERS
CTR. FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN BEHAV. SCI., STANFORD, CALIF.
REPORT NUMBER BR-5-0355 PUB DATE 31 DEC 66
UNIV. OF MICHIGAN, SCH. OF SCOIAL WORK, ANN ARBOR
REPORT NUMBER CRP-1796
CONTRACT OEC-3-10-033
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.90 HC-$23.28 582P.

DESCRIPTORS- *READING ACHIEVEMENT, *SCHOOL COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP, *SURVEYS, *PERFORMANCE FACTORS, *EDUCATIONAL THEORIES, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY TO READING ACHIEVEMENT WAS STUDIED BY APPLICATION OF "A BALANCE THEORY OF COORDINATION." INTERLOCKING SURVEYS WERE CONDUCTED BY ADMINISTERING QUESTIONNAIRES AND INTERVIEWS TO A SAMPLE OF 4,402 PEOPLE, CONSISTING OF CHILDREN FROM 18 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, THEIR PARENTS, THEIR NEIGHBORS, AND SCHOOL PERSONNEL AND TEACHERS. THE AREAS UNDER STUDY INCLUDED (1) THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE FAMILY AS PRIMARY COMMUNITY GROUPS, (2) SCHOOL-COMMUNITY LINKAGE MECHANISMS, AND (3) BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS (SCHOOLS) AND GOAL ACHIEVEMENT. A SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS SHOWED THAT PRIMARY GROUPS, BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES, AND THEIR LINKAGES MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IF ONE IS TO UNDERSTAND THE WAY SCHOOL-COMMUNITY CONTACT MIGHT AFFECT THE CHILDREN'S ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE. (RS)

ED010376

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 5-0355 (CRP 1796)
Contract No. OE-3-10-033

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY COORDINATING PROCEDURES AND READING ACHIEVEMENT

December 31, 1966

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
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Project No. 5-0355
Contract No. OE-3-10-033

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December 31, 1966

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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CONTENTS

PART I THE THEORY, SAMPLE DESIGN, AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

2 Selection of Sample and Source of Data 22

3 Reading Skill and Its Relationship to Alternative Measures of Educational Achievement 33

PART II THE NEIGHBORHOOD AS A COMMUNITY PRIMARY GROUP

Chapter 4 Neighborhood Structure--Its Theoretical Function and Some Preliminary Contextual Effects 79

5 Mechanisms by Which Neighborhood Affect the Child's Behavior 101

6 The Child's Peer Group as a Factor in Neighborhood Influence 139

7 Differential Power of Neighborhoods as Measured by Mechanisms, Indirect Resources, and Unity of Problems 155

8 Neighborhood Racial Balance as It Affects Reading Achievement 175

PART III THE FAMILY AS A COMMUNITY PRIMARY GROUP

Chapter 9 The Family's Aspirations and Educational Goals as a Factor in Reading Achievement 182

10 One-Factor Reasoning, Punitive Socialization, and Interlocking Web of Community and Family Influence 208

11 Heteronomous Norms, Child's Orientation, and Parental Contact as They Affect One-Factor Reasoning 247

Chapter 12 Family Socialization--The Amount and the Consistency 272

13 The Family Knowledge Base and Its Social Context 304

PART IV SCHOOL-COMMUNITY LINKAGE MECHANISMS

Chapter 14 The Family's Legitimation of School Linkages--A Specification of Social Distance from School 334

15 Linking Mechanisms--The Theory of Their Operation, Their Theoretical and Empirical Definition 365

16 Linking Mechanisms--Their Use--A First Test of the Balance Theory 389

17 Linking Mechanisms and Reading Achievement--A Second Test 415

PART V BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS (SCHOOLS) AND GOAL ACHIEVEMENT

Chapter 18 The School as a Bureaucratic Organization--A Third Test of the Balance Hypotheses 453

Chapter 19 The Quality of School Staff 493

PART VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 20 Problems for Further Explorations, Policy Implications, and Summary 520

Appendix A Organizational Bases for the Use of Coercion, Legitimation, and Reference Power A 1

Appendix B Background Predictors of Iowa Scores Using the AID II Computer Program B 1

List of References 549

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We should like to acknowledge the help and cooperation of the former director of the Great Cities School Improvement Project in the Detroit Schools, Carl Marburger, as well as that of the former superintendent of the Detroit Schools, Samuel Brownell. This study would have been impossible without their strong support. In addition we should like to thank the principals and teachers who agreed to participate in the study, as well as the staff of the Great Cities Project. Finally, we wish to acknowledge the help of J. Allen Winters in developing the interview-questionnaire for the children, the important editorial assistance of Miriam Gallaher, and the general overall assistance of Marian Iglasias, Grace Stribley, Anna Tower and Irene Moreno. To the families and children who gave of their time for this study we owe the deepest gratitude.

PREFACE

Because this report is somewhat different from the usual report of a research project, a word of explanation is in order. The research is based on interlocking surveys of school children, their families, the neighbors of their families, and their teachers. However, we do not simply present the findings as the major content of the report. Indeed, it was never our intention merely to conduct surveys but, rather, to begin an inquiry into a much broader theoretical issue than an examination of school-community relations, namely, the relationship between bureaucratic organizations and community primary groups.

This investigation is an attempt to provide some empirical documentation for the more general hypothesis that is presented in the first chapter. The question has received relatively little attention in prior speculative theory or empirical research. Therefore, the study must be viewed as exploratory. We were not able to anticipate many of the technical problems of measurement, or the crucial importance of some variables that are only crudely observed. We have not hesitated to follow unexpected leads in the data, to pursue _ex post facto_ interpretations, to allow the data to suggest theoretical details.

An exploratory study guided by a theoretical design must take a somewhat different attitude toward data than a study proposing to test a specific hypothesis, or a study reporting the findings of a survey. We have at times pursued theoretical ideas even when the empirical base has been precarious. We have done so when the data have been suggestive of important ideas which we had not anticipated. We prefer to report such ideas--despite their slender support--so that future investigators may not have to rediscover them for themselves but may begin their studies with at least this slight advantage and hopefully thereby make greater advances. In an exploratory study, we prefer to risk the error of assuming a relationship to be true when it is false, rather than the more serious error of assuming it to be false when it is true.

Having cautioned the reader that some of the data and some of the interpretations should be viewed as illustrative rather than definitive tests of hypotheses, we do not ask anyone to suspend judgment of the scientific merit of the study. We suggest that the canons of scientific criticism be applied that are appropriate to the current phase of inquiry into the problems we have addressed. Within this framework, we have found this initial exploratory study very suggestive and encouraging for further research in the field.

Chapter I

Formal Organizations & Community Primary Groups: A Theory of School-Community Relations

The overarching framework for this study on school-community relations is what we have called, "A Balance Theory of Coordination"1/ between bureaucratic organizations and community groups (e.g., families and neighborhoods). Put in its simplest form this theory states:

> An organization is most likely to achieve its goals where it is at a moderate social distance from family and neighborhood groups in its community. To be completely isolated will endanger the achievement of its goals and to be too close will endanger its goals.

In this study we try to apply this theory to school-community relations. We try to see what forms of school-community relations are most likely to lead children to learn to read well. To understand in what sense this theory differs from other points of view, we shall begin by reviewing some of the major alternatives.

Some educators have adopted what we have called the "locked-door policy" which takes its name from the fact that some school principals have their doors locked during school hours symbolizing their more general view that the community is extraneous, if not damaging, to the education of the child.2/ In its more moderate form this view takes cognizance of the problem of motivation but suggests that in most cases it can be handled by the teachers or, in extreme situations, by trained experts--school social workers, psychologists, counselors, nurses, and so forth. Such a view would visualize something like the British boarding school as ideal. Those holding the extreme "locked-door" position would reject the balance theory of coordination. They would argue that the family and neighborhood primary groups do not play an important role in education and therefore no coordination is necessary. The major danger they see is that the school and the community can come too close. Of course, few educators would adopt such an extreme position. Those adhering to a "locked-door" policy more commonly hold that the family has essential responsibilities that cannot be replaced by trained professionals but these responsibilities are different from those of the school. For instance, in order to educate a child it is necessary that he be properly fed and clothed, and these are distinctive family responsibilities. It would be held that when it is necessary for families and schools to communicate, this should be done through formal procedures, e.g., written messages, formal conferences, use of legal authority. This more moderate policy also differs from the "balance theory of coordination" in that it too argues that the real danger for education is that the family and school might become too close. It does not see a danger from too much isolation.

An alternative viewpoint, which seems to be gaining increasing support among educators, is what we have called the "open-door policy." In essence, this position holds that maximum education will occur where the families and schools are brought close together, where families are brought into the schools and schools taken into the community. Educators holding this view argue that motivation is central in educating the child and that the best way to motivate him is by relating the teaching situation to his on-going life experiences. Therefore, it is necessary to take learning experiences into the community and to bring the community into the school if one is to achieve maximum motivation in the child.

A number of recent experimental approaches to educating "culturally deprived" children have assumed this position. It is often implicit in the idea of the "community school" advocated by many educators.(80) One school has gone so far as to consider installing washing machines and cooking facilities which families may use because they argue that locating such family activities in the school can have a bearing on the child's education. The Great Cities Project in Detroit does not go so far but its underlying viewpoint is essentially that of the "open-door policy."

It is important to recognize that some schools are seeking closer contact with families precisely because they want to increase the efficiency of education. Those holding this "open-door" philosophy also disagree with the balance theory of coordination but for the opposite reason from proponents of the "locked-door." They disagree because they feel the chief danger is having school and community too far from each other.

When we turn to sociological theories, we find remarkable parallelism. Most sociological theory has not been explicitly concerned with the problem of linkage, but much work has an implicit bearing on it. Max Weber, for instance, suggested that bureaucratic organizations were most effective for reaching most goals in a modern mass society and their development was incompatible with a strong family system.(29) (73). Along these same lines Ogburn suggested that most major family functions have been taken over by bureaucratic organizations.(72) These two ideas taken together (incompatibility of the two types of structures and the idea that bureaucratic organizations can take over most of the functions of primary groups) would suggest that where one system develops the other must be weakened. This position, like the "locked-door" philosophy of educators, would argue that the local community plays a little role in the education of the child. It would disagree with the balance theory by suggesting the only danger is that of being too close.

Less extreme contemporary theorists (such as Parsons) hold that certain necessary functions--such as early socialization of the child and management of tensions of both adults and children--are best performed in the family.(74) (90) These family functions, not capable of performance by bureaucratic organizations, are requisites for modern society. As such, the problem of coordination between school and community would be very important. However, because the functions of school and family are very distinctive, and because their atmospheres are so different, the danger seen in such a relationship is that of being too close. This sociological theory parallels the more moderate "locked-door" position of some educators. As such, it also differs from the balance theory.

It is of some interest that we can find few sociological theorists who advance a theory compatible with the "open-door policy" of educators. However, the studies of sociologists who are working closely with practitioners (studies, for example, on voting and consumer behavior) do show a very strong emphasis on the need for the formal organization to link up with community primary groups.(3) (43) Furthermore, if we observe practitioners in many institutional areas--such as business, the army, fund raising, control of delinquency--we find their procedures reflecting a theory of linkage that closely parallels the "open-door" policy of the educator.3/ The inference from this work is that the chief danger in coordination is that of too much distance between formal organization and community primary groups. It differs from the balance theory by not seeing the danger of being too close.

It is evident that there is disagreement among both practitioners and theorists as to what might be the ideal form of coordination between bureaucratic organizations (schools) and community primary groups (families and neighborhoods). In part the resolution of this disagreement is an empirical matter and in part it is a theoretical one. The evidence that can be brought to bear on the issue at this point in time is very limited and it is subject to many different interpretations. To make it meaningful one must therefore place it within a meaningful theoretical rationale. Similarly, a theoretical position without empirical evidence to back it up is not persuasive. Therefore, what we should like to do in this chapter is to lay out in some detail the underlying rationale behind each of the positions we have suggested above. This in turn should provide the reader with a proper frame for encompassing the empirical evidence offered in the succeeding chapters.

The Relative Advantages of Formal Organizations & Primary Groups for Goal Achievement

In the prior discussion of views of school-community relations, there are two underlying assertions being made. Those arguing the danger in coordinating schools with community, of bringing them too close, assume that the atmospheres of the family and the schools are antithetical. Bringing them too close is likely to introduce nepotistic, non-objective, affective norms of the family into the school system or introduce the contractual impersonal relations of the school into the family. In either case this is believed to lead to the disruption of the school, the family, or both. Those who argue that the major danger is in keeping schools and community too far apart say that both bureaucracy and family contribute in a closely interlacing manner and if they are isolated from each other their contributions will not be coordinated but may cancel each other out. There is, of course, no reason why both of these positions might not be true. In fact, that is exactly the position we take for justifying the balance theory.

With these implicit assertions before us, we can focus our theoretical analysis on two specific issues. First, do primary groups (families, etc.) and bureaucratic organizations (schools) have qualities that inexorably bind them together if maximization of organization goals is the purpose? Secondly, are the atmospheres of primary groups and organizations so contradictory as to cause conflict if they are brought into close contact?

There are several approaches one can take to solving the first problem. One possible approach would be to list organizational goals and show that one of three things happens: (1) each goal is best handled by the bureaucratic organization, (2) each is best handled by the primary group, or (3) each is best handled by both forms in some close cooperative effort. We think at this time such an approach is extremely difficult because of the great diversity of organizational goals as well as the fact that they may vary by time and circumstance. We propose to use an alternative approach which we feel provides a more general solution to this problem. Rather than stress goals, we ask ourselves whether there are not a fairly limited number of ways by which organizations can achieve their goals? If so, does the structure of bureaucratic or primary groups permit them to utilize any of these modes of problem solving in a superior fashion?

When we examine the literature, we find that a number of sociologists have noted ways in which people ultimately gain their goals (e.g., forms of power). The lists vary somewhat but they basically vary on the same theme. We therefore use one analysis (26) which suggests four ways by which people achieved their goals: (1) through use of expert knowledge, (2) through coercion, (3) through acceptance as a legitimate authority in the group context, and (4) through personal attractiveness or reference power.

To solve the theoretical problem we have posed, we will try to show that primary groups or bureaucratic organizations by their very structures permit the differential exercise of these various forms of influence.4/ For instance, we ask is there anything in the structure of a bureaucratic organization which will permit its members to bring more expert knowledge to bear for solving problems than the primary group can provide. If we could establish this with regard to all modes of influence (knowledge, coercion, legitimation, and reference power), then we would have established a theoretical basis for the "locked-door" policy.(58) For what we would have done is establish in principle that the bureaucratic organizations have the most effective means for solving any problem. If we could establish that both the formal organization and the primary group are able to utilize the four modes of influence for different problem solving phases of the same task, then we would take the first step to providing a theoretical rationale for the "open door" philosophy. We would have established in principle the need for two organizations to work closely together.

We begin our analysis by focusing on the structure of bureaucratic and primary groups as they relate to the use of expert knowledge. This will provide a prototype for the analysis of the other three modes of influence.

At the outset, we would argue that the very structure of bureaucracies is designed to maximize the growth and use of trained experts. We can see this if we take as our definition of bureaucracy the dimensions of organization suggested by Weber(29):

(1) Appointment and promotion by merit (i.e., ability to get the job done): insures that the best trained person will be hired and that people will be continually motivated to improve their skills.

(2) Specialization: insures that people will be given maximum opportunity to practice their skills.

(3) Impersonal relations: insures that irrelevant issues such as friendship will not interfere with assignment and promotion of people on the basis of their competence for tasks.

(4) *A priori*-definition of duties and privileges: insures that the goals of the organization will remain paramount and nobody can take advantage of a superior position in the organization to introduce personal considerations.

(5) Rules: insures that there will be proper coordination so the right expert will be on the right job at the right time.

(6) Hierarchical authority: insures that there will be a reasonable coordination in situations which cannot be covered by rules.

Such a social structure is clearly set up to develop trained experts and bring them to bear on a given problem.

Let us now contrast this with the primary group which is typically defined as follows (13):

(1) Affective relations: membership and evaluations are made on the basis of love and nepotism. A man leaves his property or business to his children not because they are more able than anybody else but for purely nepotistic reasons, e.g., they are his family.

(2) Diffused relations: the primary group considers many different areas of life as legitimate group concerns (e.g., religion, politics, work, recreation, health, aesthetics, love, etc.). It would only be a chance occurrence if a member of the primary group happened to have specialized expertise in any given field.

(3) Non-instrumental relations: the survival of the group as an end-in-itself is the paramount goal of the group. Individuals within it are not expected to evaluate each other in terms of their ability to carry out other tasks. Put somewhat differently, for most tasks merit is a secondary consideration.

(4) Permanent relations: people are attached to the group by some permanent biological basis or have some relatively permanent social ties, e.g., marriage. As a consequence, people are not easily removed from this group no matter how incompetent they may be in the performance of most tasks.

(5) Face-to-face relationships: this is a small group which cannot provide a large enough number for developing specialists and which is so intimately and frequently involved that it would be difficult to maintain impersonal relations.

The primary group, in contrast to the formal organization, clearly is not structured to produce or maintain trained experts. From this analysis we conclude that the formal organization is better for solving problems which require "trained experts."

How then do we account for the efforts of various organizations, such as the schools, businesses, and other major organizations, to move closer to the primary groups so as to increase their effectiveness? We think there is a very important class of events for which "trained experts" are of little use. As a consequence, the bureaucratic organization has no advantage over the primary groups. In fact, we can see that in some circumstances, formal organization is a positive hindrance to the achievement of goals.

We will give three instances where trained experts have little value. First, where the knowledge required to do the job is so simple that the average person can handle it. For instance, dressing a child, feeding a child, making sure a child stays out of the streets, providing initial language skills, making sure the child will leave for school on time, making sure the child goes to bed on time, putting some antiseptic on a minor cut, etc., etc., etc. When we look closely, we see a substantial part of life made up of innumerable events of this kind. Professional training does not materially increase one's ability to handle such everyday events. If we accept this assertion, we would further argue that the small size and diffused relationships of a primary group permit much faster and more continuous lines of communications for such everyday tasks. A mother with one to three children is able to handle quickly the problems of dressing, feeding, and supervising her children at home in contrast to a teacher with 30 to 40 children on her hands. If the mother has the same ability to perform these tasks as the teacher, then the primary group setting of the family is a more efficient way of handling this problem than the bureaucratic setting of a school. The small size of the primary group as well as its diffused relations, which make it difficult to provide "trained experts," are advantages when the members of the group are already expert enough.

It is not only that the primary group provides faster and more continuous supervision but that the time and resources for training specialists to handle jobs which can be handled by non-specialists is a drain on organizational goals. For instance, if a doctor had to be present every time an individual took an aspirin for a headache, we would either have a severe drop in the amount of time doctors could give to other medical matters or we would have a lot of people with headaches. Having made the point that the primary group provides a speedier and more flexible mode of decision making when trained experts are not necessary, we want to emphasize that this is true only when the task requires no trained experts. Where trained experts are useful, the formal organization is likely to be quicker and more flexible.5/

A second, and somewhat related, area where "trained experts" are of little use is where there is little or no expert knowledge available. Some of the areas where knowledge is sparse and which are related to education are as follows: the internalization and continuous re-enforcement of achievement values, the development and continuous re-enforcement of modes of thought most conducive to problem solving, the development and continual re-enforcement of deferred gratification, the development and continuous re-enforcement of educational study habits, the development and re-enforcement of vocabulary.

We wish to be clear about the sense in which we say there is no "trained expertise in these areas." The expert may be better able to identify instances where there has been a breakdown in any of the above areas; he may even be able to indicate what general courses of action should be followed; he might even be able to train parents to do a better job. However, the expert generally cannot specify the everyday, 24-hour-a-day activities that a parent must engage in to effect any of the above processes. This is evidenced by the fact that the expert is probably no better a parent than the average person of the same socio-economic level. His expertness will often rest not in replacing the primary group with services of a formal organization, but in repairing the primary group so that it can operate more effectively. His role is important and beneficial but, at this stage, he does not have that knowledge of the everyday processes which enable parents to successfully handle some of the problems we have listed above.6/

Besides those already mentioned still another aspect of the primary group becomes advantageous when dealing with areas where we have little knowledge. Lack of knowledge means that events are unanticipated and in this case the primary group's emphasis on diffused relations, rather than specialized ones, is important. The more diffused the relationships, the wider the intake policy of the group and the more likely the unanticipated events will be accepted as a legitimate area for the group to deal with. The bureaucratic structure (with some important exceptions)7/ finds it difficult to absorb the unanticipated and is sometimes prevented from doing so by law. In addition, it might be pointed out that some evidence suggests that having positive affective relations are conducive to task motivation and commitment.8/ Thus, in a situation where primary group members have knowledge equal to that of members of bureaucratic and there is much uncertainty, the primary group stress on affective relations is a virtue and not a defect. Finally, we would again note that it is wasteful of organizational resources to train specialists who in fact are little better than ordinary individuals.

The point we are making is that where society must deal with areas for which it does not have much knowledge, the primary group structure is a more effective way for handling immediate short-term problems than the bureaucratic organization. We are not talking about trivial aspects of life but about issues which many people think are central to the educational process (motivation, internalization of values, continuous re-enforcement of educational habits, continuous re-enforcement of problem solving orientations, continuous re-enforcement and development of vocabulary, etc.). Some might argue that such aspects of life will in the long run come under the mastery of science and technology. We would reply that the history of science suggests that, even as it solves old problems, new areas of ignorance are revealed which were not even anticipated in the earlier state of knowledge. (59)

Thus far we have dealt with two areas where "trained experts" are of little use--where knowledge is so simple that experts are little better than the average individual, and where we have so little knowledge that trained experts are little better than the average individual. A third circumstance is where the event to be dealt with is so complex or so idiosyncratic that we cannot bring expert knowledge to bear fast enough to make a difference. Consider, for example, the socialization of the child. It is a function of a bewildering variety of interactions with parents, peers, teachers, relatives, strangers, and mass media. To some extent all these provide standardized stimuli. But to some extent each brings his own idiosyncracies to the situation. As a consequence, part of the child's personality consists of standard roles which might be anticipated by the expert.

But a considerable part consists of unique personality characteristics which can be understood only after a considerable time has been spent with the child. Parents in continuous face-to-face interactions with their children can learn these quirks. An expert who may be more knowledgeable about handling children still might not be able to utilize this knowledge for many problems because it would take too long for them really to know the child. Hence the expert cannot bring knowledge to bear quickly enough to effect the outcome. Where the expert tries to bring his knowledge to bear but cannot do it in time then the decision will be made without benefit of his advice. If he gives advice with sufficient speed to affect a decision, he will not have enough information about the child to use his trained expertise. In complex situations there is therefore virtue in having permanent long term primary group relationships in which people have a chance to build up a knowledge base. There is some virtue in having diffused relationships so the full complexity of the problem is comprehended and accepted. There is some virtue in having face-to-face contact so people are always informed and decisions can be made quickly. In short, when dealing with complex or unanticipated events the primary group is frequently superior to the bureaucratic organization for handling short term problems.

We have now indicated three circumstances where primary groups may be superior to the formal organization--(1) where the task is sufficiently simple so that the average person can do it as well as the expert, (2) where the knowledge base is so limited that trained experts have no real advantage over the average individual, and (3) where the situation is so complex or so idiosyncratic that the expert cannot bring his knowledge to bear in time to make a difference. Because we will refer to these three situations throughout the report, we will henceforth refer to them as "non-uniform" events. This does considerable violence to the customary usage of the term "non-uniform," so we ask the reader to remember that we have given it a special definition.

We have now accomplished one of our stated purposes, that is, to show when primary groups are more effective than bureaucratic organizations and vice versa. Where the events are non-uniform the primary groups are more effective. Where the events are uniform the bureaucratic organizations are more effective.

What does this analysis suggest with regard to the problems of school-community relations? At this stage, it provides a very strong theoretical foundation for the "open-door" policy because we would argue that the tasks of education significantly involve uniform and non-uniform aspects. A philosophy of maximal isolation will risk lack of coordination between the primary groups and bureaucratic organizations. They might work at cross purposes. This appears frequently to be the case in low income areas where families lack knowledge to perform their part of the educational role and as a consequence the child is not able to handle the processes of education. The issue is further complicated by the fact that bureaucratic organizations in low income areas often do not handle their roles well thus further increasing distance from families.

We can briefly indicate the importance of both uniform and non-uniform tasks in education. Such things as motivation to learn and its continuous re-enforcement, continuous re-enforcement of educational goals, continuous re-enforcement of study habits, continuous re-enforcement of vocabulary development, development of initial language skills, continuous re-enforcement of deferred gratification, etc., are all non-uniform aspects of education. At the same time there are uniform aspects for which training and experience have direct pertinence. First, the transmission of accumulated knowledge (e.g., math, literature, science, music, etc.) requires some professional training. Secondly, there are certain standard skills in teaching children how to read, how to write, etc., which are a function of experience and training. Thus, even a well-educated parent might be at a loss as to how to teach his child to read. Thirdly, there are standard forms of motivation (where the child has internalized more or less stand-social roles) that the teacher because of greater experience and training may effectively handle. Finally, the teacher is frequently in a very good position to spot major educational problems.

We would suggest that all these uniform and non-uniform aspects of education are very much linked. At any given moment in time they might vary as a function of the state of educational technology. But there is no reason to believe that the formal organization or the primary group will satisfactorily encompass all of the functions. Rather history suggests a continuous partnership and exchange between the two.9/

These, then, are the grounds for arguing that, in principle, to achieve educational goals maximally, it is necessary to have close cooperation between formal bureaucratic organizations and the community primary groups. Our case would be more persuasive if we proceeded to demonstrate that the same analysis holds for the other three major modes of influence (legitimation, coercion, and reference). Insofar as these are major modes of problem solving, we could establish our case for most goals in most conceivable circumstances. We feel, in fact, that the same theoretical analysis can be made for the other bases of influence and that the analysis would follow much the same logic as we have already undertaken. As a consequence, we have included this analysis in Appendix A for those interested in the theoretical foundations of our position. To be brief, however, we would simply state that, in general, the bureaucratic organization is better able to solve problems where they involve "uniform events" while the primary group structure is better able to solve problems which involve "non-uniform events." More specifically, we mean that bureaucratic organizations are a better base for using expertise, legitimation, coercion, and reference influence where the task is a uniform one and the primary group is a better base where the task is "non-uniform."

At this point let us briefly review where we are and where we intend going. We started out with three theories on school-community relations--locked door, open door, and a balance theory. We suggested that to provide a theoretical base for these points of view we must do at least two things: first, indicate the extent to which these forms of organization can accomplish tasks independently without the necessity of being closely linked; second, indicate the extent to which the atmospheres of these two types of organization are antithetical. We have done the first of these by saying that educational institutions are very much bound to community primary groups if they are to achieve their goals.

At the same time, we have implicitly supported the second point. We have noted that primary groups and bureaucratic organizations have somewhat contradictory dimensions of organization. Their difference is the very basis for their ability to handle complementary tasks. The primary group stresses affective, nepotistic, or love relationships; the bureaucratic organization stresses impersonal and merit evaluations. The primary group stresses diffused relationships with little *a priori* definition of duties and obligations; the bureaucracy stresses specialized relationships with duties and privileges spelled out in advance in great detail. The primary group stresses relatively permanent interpersonal ties; the bureaucracy stresses changing interpersonal relations (though permanent jobs). These are some of the contradictions between the two polar types of organization. The fact that some students of bureaucracy point out that there are types which depart significantly from the Weberian model does not alter the logic of our analysis.10/ We shall explicitly deal with this problem in the main body of the report as well as later in this chapter.

Thus the very analysis which supports the "open-door" policy simultaneously justifies the major bases for the "locked door" policy. Organizations which have antithetical atmospheres must be kept isolated from each other or they will tend to destroy one another. If a teacher becomes too friendly with the parents of students, he might find it difficult to give the child a deserved poor grade. On the other hand, parents who become too closely identified with the goals of the school (educational success) might introduce a task-oriented, contractual mode into their relationship with the child that affects his adjustment at home and at school as well.

Accepting the foregoing analysis, we conclude that school-community relationships are guided by two somewhat contrary demands:

(1) Families and schools must work closely together to achieve educational goals.

(2) Families and schools must be kept appropriately separated since their organizational structures are contradictory.

There is no logical reason why both of these statements cannot simultaneously be true. In fact we believe them both to be true. As such they form the theoretical foundations for our balance theory. They point to two risks in school-community relationships. (1) If the schools and primary groups are too isolated from each other the problem of coordinating their efforts becomes greater and greater and eventuates in not bringing to bear the maximum force for educational achievement. This would be especially true if school and community worked in opposite directions because of their isolation. (2) If the schools and community are too close, we would again say that maximum force for educational achievement cannot be brought to bear because the bureaucracy will damage the primary group, or vice versa, or they both will damage each other. As a consequence we contend that maximum achievement will occur where the primary group and the bureaucratic organization are at some mid-point--close enough to coordinate their behavior but not so close as to destroy each other. This is the balance theory of coordination.

If this formulation is correct, it raises a series of theoretical and empirical issues to which we now turn since they provide the specific details which lend themselves to empirical verification and as such provide the basis for testing our theory.

Perhaps the most novel theoretical idea suggested by the balance theory is the notion of linking mechanisms. These are procedures which link bureaucratic organizations with primary groups. With some notable exceptions this area has been ignored by sociologists.(91) (42) (31) (65) If one adopted a "locked-door policy," he would argue in the extreme that there is no need for such mechanisms since the primary group would either completely disappear or be in such a weakened state it would play no meaningful role. If a more modest "locked-door" approach were taken, the educator would be interested in linking procedures which would enable him to communicate with outside primary groups while maintaining or increasing social distance. If the "open-door" policy were adopted as the correct approach, the emphasis would be on linking procedures which communicated while closing social distance. If the balance theory of coordination were assumed to be operative, then one would be interested in both types of linking procedures, depending on how far the community was from the school at any point in time.

The theory sensitizes us to the need for explaining the mechanisms which connect primary groups and formal organizations. In the main body of this report we shall develop the theory together with some evidence for its validity. The basic notion is that where an organization seeks to close distance with the community, it generally needs a form of linkage which gives the organization initiative in reaching the community, provides it with an intense primary group type of contact, allows face-to-face contact between primary groups and professional experts, and reaches many people. If one needs to have communications while maintaining distance, then the opposite dimensions of linkages should be stressed. The empirical basis for this formulation are studies in mass communication which, in retrospect, have a major concern with how bureaucratic organizations close social distance with community primary groups. The theory of communication was based largely on one type of linking mechanisms (the mass media) but in this study we shall show how a range of linking mechanisms operates and how more may be generated.

Once recognized, the idea of linking mechanisms is easy to find in empirical expression. For instance, schools can be linked with community primary groups (families and neighborhoods) by the following procedures: special community organizer detached to work in the community like those used in the experimental Detroit Great Cities program; use of school buildings for after school hours like a settlement house; use of voluntary associations like Parent Teachers associations; use of children who are members of both school and family system to pass on messages; use of opinion leaders in the neighborhoods; and use of mass media.

In the main body of our report we will show how these empirical manifestations of linkages are guided by a common theory which permits one to suggest the optimum manner in which they can be used to reach the outer community. This is turn will provide the guidelines which eventually will permit us to answer questions of the following order: under what conditions might a school best use an approach like mass media as compared to a Parent Teachers association, or when might one best use an after school program as contrasted with sending special community organizers into the neighborhood, or what sequence of linkages might be best used in a given situation. Though our illustrations are in terms of school-community relationships, the theory is stated in a sufficiently broad manner that we would hope that with minor modification it would cover other major bureaucratic organizations in our society as well.

Another matter to which the theory sensitizes us and to which we shall devote some empirical attention in the body of the study is the organizational basis for the linking mechanisms. In order to present our theory with the minimum of distractions we have dealt in dichotomies of bureaucratic organizations and primary groups. However, there are many different intermediate types of organizations, as well as many different types of bureaucratic organizations and of primary groups. As a consequence, a very meaningful question is to ask what type of bureaucratic organization will provide the best base for the various linking mechanisms. We shall suggest that linkage procedures must be consistent with the bureaucratic structure from which they operate. Where that structure emphasizes hierarchical authority, linking mechanisms which require decentralized authority (e.g., a detached community organizer) cannot be used. In our report we shall deal with two types of administrative styles that we call "rationalistic" and "collegial." Though this far from exhausts the possible types of organization it does indicate the need to consider alterations in linkages to the community frequently imply alterations in the internal administrative styles of the organization as well.

The theory not only places attention on the bureaucratic organizations but also suggests the importance of primary groups. In this connection we want to examine two important primary groups --the family and the neighborhood. They have significant differences in structure. As a consequence, the tactics of reaching them, as well as the kinds of educational jobs they do, will differ. In the report we shall try to show some of the variations within each of these groups, as well as differences between them.

Finally, in the report we shall (because of our balance theory) continuously stress the need to consider all of these elements--bureaucratic organizations, the linking mechanisms, and the primary groups--in interaction with each other. Because of the limits of analysis and of communication, we will often present one variable at a time. We hope that a general comprehension of the theory as given in this introductory chapter will serve to keep in mind the other elements of the theory even when we are as a matter of convenience forced to discuss only one.

Summary

Because many ideas have been squeezed into these introductory statements we should like at this point to review them for the reader. First, we are advancing a "balance theory of coordination" as one which might best explain the conditions under which organizations might maximize their goals. This states that an organization will best achieve its goals where it operates at some mid point of social distance from its community-primary groups. We contrasted this point of view with one which is implied by some current sociological theories, namely, that bureaucratic organizations will best achieve their goals when they are isolated from their community primary groups. It also contrasts with a point of view which has been increasingly suggested by various policy makers, namely, that organizations will operate best when they bring the community primary groups into closer contact. We have pointed out that in educational circles the philosophies of the "locked-door" and the "open-door" with respect to community contact reflect these two positions.

We then attempted to outline the theoretical foundations for the balance point of view. We indicated that the very structure of the bureaucracy enabled it to maximize the use of expert knowledge, legitimate authority, coercion, and reference power when dealing with "uniform" areas of life. By contrast, the very structure of the primary group enabled it to utilize these very same major modes of influence when the areas of life were "non-uniform." We argued that education in particular and most goals in general have both uniform and non-uniform aspects. Therefore, if a bureaucratic organization like a school is to maximize its educational achievement it must work closely with families and neighborhoods. However, we also pointed out that the bureaucratic organization and the primary group have somewhat contradictory "atmospheres." Working too close would be destructive. As a consequence, we suggested two kinds of dangers: (1) they might be too isolated from each other and find themselves working at cross purposes, or (2) they might be too close and find that their atmospheres tend to lead to mutual destruction. On these grounds we advanced the balance theory as the one that was theoretically most persuasive. Schools, to maximize their power, should be at a middle distance from their communities, e.g., not so far that they cannot coordinate but not so close that they tend to be destroyed or to destroy the primary groups.

Our report will investigate only a few of the many ramifications of this theory. We will first attempt to show how primary groups, such as family and neighborhoods, actually impede or hinder the child's education. We shall then seek to develop a theory of linking mechanisms and show how they impede or aid the educational process. We shall, finally, conclude with a discussion of bureaucratic organizations, attempting to show how the structure of bureaucracy forces the use of certain kinds of linkages. In our conclusion we shall attempt to point out some of the areas of research which might be profitably pursued as well as some of the possible policy implications of this type of analysis.

Footnotes

1. For the complete elaboration of this theory see Litwak and Meyer (62). Our use of the term balance has no relationship to the theory developed by Heider. His refers only to cognitive behavior of individuals whereas ours is concerned with both cognitive and non-cognitive behavior and of organizations, not individuals. Furthermore, our notion of balance suggests a balance state occurs where an organization can maintain two contradictory claims without giving in to either while the psychological theory of balance is based on ideas of consistency.

2. The following analysis is further elaborated in Litwak and Meyer (63).

3. With regard to the business world, there is evidence pro and con that large-scale bureaucratic companies are interested in local community and family linkages.(24) (75) (70) (99) For a summary of literature and a systematic consideration of theoretical issues see Eugene Litwak (55). In the army, frequently pointed out as the model bureaucracy, there are very explicit ties to the families. During wartime, proper family relations are directly tied to fighting morale. It was pointed out by Edward Shils and Morris Janowitz (86) that referrals to family danger were one of the few appeals that made the German soldier susceptible to surrender. In peacetime, the elaborate and costly expenditure which the army makes to keep the dependents close to the soldier is well known. In 1963, when the United States sought to redress an unfavorable flow of gold by ordering dependents back to the States, the government had to rescind the order because of its obvious impact on the recruitment of troops and the maintenance of troop morale.

   One of the great advances in the area of private welfare fundraising has been the attempt to supplement professional fundraising by using the local community volunteer. Now funds in a given neighborhood are generally solicited by a neighbor or a friend. Similarly, one of the major innovations in delinquency control in the last 20 years has been the emphasis on the milieu from which the delinquent comes. For many delinquents nothing lasting can be done if their gang, family, and local neighbors have not been altered as well. The development of the detached gang worker is the best idea of this movement as well as the agency's explicit link to the community.

4. This approach contrasts with that of Etzioni (17). From a sociological point of view he has, in our judgment, stood the process on its head. The question he asks is how do forms of power alter the structure of an organization. The question we are asking is the reverse--how does the structure of an organization permit the exercise of one form of power or another? We start from the proposition that power is a manifestation of organization. It does not exist in a vacuum. It can only be exercised where it has an organizational base. We think he is in the position of a visitor from a strange planet who secretly observes people on earth trying on clothes. After observing for some time he comes away in some wonder that clothing always seems to purchase the right size man.

5. It is quite clear that a doctor in a hospital can react more quickly and with greater flexibility in the treatment of a heart attack than can primary group members.

6. There are at least two other reasons for the justification of experts other than their ability to handle short run problems. They may be justified on their potential for solving problems in the long run. The evidence for the reasonableness of such an assumption is the pay-off society has received from research.

   They might also be justified even where their margin of success is very small when society puts a high value on the task they handle. Thus, psychoanalysts dealing with a mentally ill person may have a very small margin of success which involves a great deal of medical resources. Yet he might be supported because the curing of mental illness is given a high priority.

   In both of these instances we might have the use of "experts" and formal bureaucracies in situations where they in fact are little better than the primary group for handling short-run problems. We would suggest that if our hypotheses are correct these particular type of experts and their host bureaucracies will come to take on many of the dimensions of a primary group if they are to operate effectively. Thus, if we are talking about typologies of bureaucracies they will be along the collegial rather than the rationalistic levels. We will discuss this problem in greater detail later in this report. It is expanded elsewhere.(56) (63)

7. It is quite clear that there are major bureaucracies which are devoted to dealing with lack of knowledge, e.g., all research

institutes. The assumption is made that in the long run they will be able to provide answers. As we have noted in an earlier footnote, society has other bases than effectiveness in solving short term problems for developing bureaucratic organizations. However, if our reasoning above is correct and society does develop bureaucracies around areas where little knowledge is available, then they should function best where they move toward the primary group mode of interaction. They become bureaucracies which are based on a collegial structure rather than a rationalistic one.(56) (61) See Chapter 18.

8. Blau, for instance, (69) suggests that workers in situations of great uncertainty are much more likely to communicate key information when they have developed a positive trust relationship rather than a strictly impersonal one. Studies of combat soldiers suggest that in situations of great uncertainty and risk, strong positive affect makes them much better soldiers.(86)

9. Those who argued that the family was losing its functions to formal organizations stop their analysis too soon. For more recent history suggests that after a certain point the effects of technology are to move aspects of any given function back and forth between primary groups and the bureaucratic organization. Thus, the do-it-yourself development and the creation of home appliances are evidence for the partial movement of many functions back to the family. But, more important, there is nothing in principle that says that a technological breakthrough might not make it possible for every man to pilot his own plane, or that every woman might not be able , through "miracle" material and new adhesives, to create her own clothes 30 minutes before she goes out, etc. Technology is just as likely to return controls over certain aspects of a task to the family as take them away. The chief consideration is whether it makes a task more or less uniform in our special meaning of the word and it does both. We would go even further and argue that the same logic of analysis could be applied to most goals in society. However, since this work is devoted to the educational issues we will not expand that point here.(62)

10. First, it should be acknowledged that even the most collegial bureaucracy is still very different from the family. The friendship relationship encouraged at work is generally not equivalent to the love relationship in the family, the work relationships are still far more specialized than the family ones, the work relationships are far more transitory than family ones, and finally the role relationships at even the

most benevolent bureaucracy must be more instrumentally and merit oriented than the family one. Once having made this point we also acknowledge that the form of linkage to the community will alter as the bureaucracy approaches the primary group in structure. We will report upon this in the main body of our report. For a more elaborate discussion of this point, see (61) and Chapter 18.

Chapter 2

Selection of Samples and Source of Data

In order to accomplish the purpose of this study information had to be collected on the child's performance (our dependent variable), the family, the neighborhood, the bureaucratic structure of the schools and the linking mechanisms.

To accomplish this task we made a series of surveys as follows:

1. 1530 home interviews with parents of the children studied
2. 1530 questionnaires (read aloud) to children of parents interviewed
3. 528 questionnaires to the staff of the 18 elementary schools which the children went to
4. 716 home interviews with the neighbors of the families interviewed
5. 38 interviews with principals and assistant principals of each of the 18 schools
6. 60 questionnaire-interviews with the homeroom teachers of each of the children studied
7. School records containing grade information, tardiness, intelligence tests, etc. were gathered from the central school files for each child.

Basic Sampling Frame

The sample for the study was developed in several stages. The first stage was a purposeful sample intended to incorporate schools which had much greater school-community contact than one would ordinarily find by chance. We included, therefore, 4 elementary schools which were part of the Great Cities School Improvement Project of the Detroit Public Schools. As part of a specially funded demonstration project, these schools had extra facilities and one of their explicit purposes was the development of closer school-community relations. They were all located within the inner city of Detroit in the poorest economic areas. Since our theory deals with the utility of varying social distance between school and community and since we suspected that the ordinary inner city school would not have very much community contact, we seized the opportunity to include the Great Cities schools. This permitted us to attempt to fill theoretical cells in our hypothetical prediction tables which under ordinary circumstances would in all likelihood otherwise be left empirically empty.

Starting with these 4 elementary schools, we sought to highlight the role of school-community linking procedures by matching each of these schools with two other schools. We attempted to match on factors ordinarily associated with educational achievement, such as race, region of birth, economic status, income, occupation, and any special circumstances believed to affect the performance of the child. In addition, we sought schools which might be as separated from their communities as possible. We hoped to have clear contrasts between schools using linking procedures and those not using them.

Several characteristics of the Great Cities schools affected our sample. One Great City school consisted almost completely of families living in a low income housing project. Another was made up of families in the majority from the South. Two of the schools were almost completely Negro in population and two were approximately 75 per cent white.

To select the matching inner-city schools, we asked the directors of the Great Cities project and other officials of the Detroit Public Schools to narrow down a list of 300 schools to those which might resemble our 4 Great Cities schools, i.e., be in the inner city, be in low income areas, for two schools to be almost completely Negro and two about 75 per cent southern white, for one of the Negro schools to be located in a housing project, and for all schools to have a minimum of school-community contact. With these specifications the school officials suggested approximately 6 potential matches for each of the Great Cities schools. Some of these matches were acknowledged to be less than desired because better ones were just not available in Detroit. For example, it was hard to find elementary schools in housing projects which had few community contacts; and it was hard to find schools predominantly used by southern whites which had 25 per cent Negro families. Furthermore, all matching had to be made from informed estimates since the school system did not keep records on many of these factors.

This approach, we found out afterwards, led to some biases. It turned out that the Great Cities schools, with one exception, were located in lower income neighborhoods than their proposed matches. We found that we had no choice but to select two schools that had 50 per cent white when ideally we wanted 75 per cent. We found that some schools classified as isolated had more contact with their communities than those classified as not isolated.

This procedure gave us 12 of the 18 schools we eventually decided to include in our sampling frame. The other six schools were chosen as follows. School officials were asked to select two schools which were a) in the outer city areas of Detroit, b) which had a considerable school-community contact, and c) which served only white families. They were then asked to provide for each of these two schools some potential matching schools that differed only in that they had much less school community contact. The outer city schools were chosen because it was known that children from such schools showed better performance levels than those from the inner city. We wanted to see if some of the differences might be accounted for by their school-community relations. In addition, it was hoped that in these schools we would be able to find a sizable sample of parents who were pushing their children academically so we could test the other side of our theory, namely, that families too "close" to the school limited school performance. We decided to exclude Negroes from the outer city sample because a) they represented a very small proportion of the Negro population, b) the outer city sample was already small and splitting it further might destroy its usefulness for any complex analysis, and c) in any event we would not be able to find Negro schools in predominantly middle class areas.

The school personnel again provided us with two schools and approximately 6 matches. We followed the same procedures of looking at all available data to select two matching schools with lower community participation for each of the two high participation schools.

On this basis we determined the 18 schools for our study -- 6 in the outer city and 12 in the inner city. (See Table 2-1.)

Table 2-1

Basic Sampling Frame
Number of Schools Taken

		Predominantly Negro (90% or more)	Predominantly White (75% at least)*
Inner City: Lower Class	Close Community Contact - Great Cities	2 Schools (170 Families)	2 Schools (170 Families)
	Less Community Contact	4 Schools (340 Families)	4 Schools (340 Families)
Outer City: Middle Class	Close Community Contact	No Schools	2 Schools (170 Families)
	Less Community Contact	No Schools	4 Schools (340 Families)

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*In two cases, the schools obtained had 50 to 45 per cent white students.

We then faced the question of what age child we could obtain adequate information from by interview or other feasible method. The child had to be sufficiently old to be able to follow the questionnaire-interview we planned to use as well as old enough to have some appreciation of the role of education in his future career. We ruled out junior high and high school children because we felt that these schools covered too large a territory to reflect the neighborhood effects which we wanted to study. For instance, the high school in the Great Cities Project had within its district close to 300,000 people. Furthermore, we felt that the school-community linking procedures would be more explicit and visible at the elementary school level in view of the customary pattern of our educational system which appears to hold that as children grow up they should be more independent of their families and therefore it is less necessary for schools to deal with the parents directly.

We decided to select sixth graders from the chosen elementary schools. We felt this would give us a population where school-community contact was legitimate but the children would be old enough to follow the questionnaire-interview. We asked each school to provide us with lists of children in the fifth and sixth grades and found that in certain of the schools there were too few sixth graders to fill the quota of 85 that we had set. Therefore we composed our sample of 75 per cent sixth graders and 25 per cent fifth graders. We decided to keep the number at 85 for each school because we wanted enough cases that some data analysis could be made within a school if the occasion arose, e.g., the effects of education, income, or race within a given school.

The list of fifth and sixth grade students in each of the 18 schools that we now obtained from homeroom teachers differed somewhat from our first list because some students had moved, were out of school, etc. On the basis of the final list we had to enlarge the proportion of fifth graders to between 25 and 30 per cent of the total sample. There were approximately 3,200 children from all 18 schools on this list. We selected at random from the list for each school 85 children plus 14 possible substitutes. We eliminated from the sample a second child if we drew more than one child from the same family. We also eliminated one child who was in the process of being placed in a correctional institution and would be out of school, and one child who was seriously ill and out of school for the year.

The Family Study

This list constituted our sample universe. We utilized it to identify families as well as children. From this list we succeeded in reaching 89 per cent of the people we wanted to reach. The other 11 per cent either couldn't be found, refused to be interviewed, there was a language problem, or the interview was unintelligible. For the family study we decided to take as our respondent the mother or a person who functioned in that role if the mother was absent from the family. We found on analyzing completed interviews with families that there were 18 cases where the respondent was a father, because there was no mother or female functioning in this role. These 18 cases were too few to analyze separately and therefore they were dropped from the study. This left us with 1530 respondents.1/

The Child Study

Since it was more expensive to single out only our sample to administer questionnaire-interviews to the children, we administered the questionnaire to all children in the fifth and sixth grade in each of the 18 schools. The school permitted us to use one regular class period for this purpose. During this period the teacher left the room and was interviewed by one of our staff. Two staff members worked in each classroom where the children were each given a questionnaire that was read aloud with them and on which they checked their answers. Slow readers had only to recognize the letters of the alphabet or the numbers 1-7, since each question was read and the place to check indicated. There were, however, two parts of the questionnaire which the children read for themselves, sections where they were asked to make judgments about themselves and their teachers. Our pre-test experience indicated that these sections caused some embarrassed laughter when read aloud. We had two staff members prepared to give assistance to the slow readers on these sections if requested. In addition to the questionnaire, the child was given the reading section of the Iowa achievement test to complete by himself. We had two people assisting to make sure the children understood the instructions properly. For children absent during the testing period we came back and administered the questionnaire in special groups. Of the 1782 possible cases (85 plus 14 substitutes for each school) we missed only 5 children.

The Neighborhood Study

The neighborhood study used a two stage sample. The first stage was the family sample for each school. From these lists we selected at random 40 addresses plus 8 substitutes. For each of these forty cases we visited the housing sites and listed the three closest neighboring dwellings. These were arranged in order of physical distance (with alternating right and left hand choices being made where houses were of equal distance). The interviewer was instructed to take the first choice unless it was an all male household. We decided for purposes of comparability to the family study to interview only female respondents. In 85 per cent of the cases we were able to interview our first choice. Since this study was done a year after the family study we also eliminated all people who had lived in the neighborhood less than one year.

The Teacher Study

For the teacher sample we took all teachers on the school staffs of the 18 schools. We eliminated special personnel, such as visiting teachers, nurses, attendance officers, etc. A questionnaire was administered to the teachers between terms when there were no classes but they were expected to be at school for meetings. The questionnaire took approximately one hour to fill out. During the first administration we missed 26 teachers out of 528. In addition, 35 omitted 6 or more items and 20 had one or more demographic questions omitted. By mailing and calling we managed to get returns from 20 of the 26 who were missing at the time of the administration and to get 22 out of the 35 to fill in omitted questions. In other words, we had completed questionnaires from 99 per cent of the teachers.

Other Interviews

With regard to homeroom teachers, we were able to interview all but one or two. These exceptions involved long illnesses. Their place was taken by other teachers who knew the children best. All principals and assistant principals were interviewed in day-long interviews which were comparatively speaking, open-ended.

Comparison of Our Sample with Detroit Population

We conclude by comparing the extent to which our family and neighborhood samples resemble the general population in Detroit in some key socioeconomic indicators. Despite the fact that we did not draw a random sample, our distributions are not so far off from the total population distribution as we had originally thought. (See Table 2.2.)2/

For the white population the family sample has slightly fewer college educated respondents than the population as a whole but otherwise it is very close to the total population. Occupa-

Table 2-2. A Comparison of the Demographic Characteristics of the Detroit Samples with Census for the Detroit Metropolitan Area* (Percentages)

	White Women			Non-White Women		
	1960 Census	Litwak-Meyer** "Family"	Neighborhood	1960 Census	Litwak-Meyer** "Family"	Neighborhood
School Years Completed						
0 - 8	29.7	25.4	32.2	38.8	28.2	29.8
9 - 11	26.7	32.0	24.1	31.2	45.1	38.3
12	31.4	33.0	33.6	21.5	20.7	27.0
13+	12.3	9.6	10.0	8.5	6.1	9.9
Husband's Occupation	***			***		
Professionals, etc.	12.5	8.9	9.0	3.0	2.2	
Managers, officials, etc.	9.5	10.3	11.8	2.2	1.5	8.2
Clerical	7.8	5.6	7.8	5.2	5.0	
Sales	7.9	4.1	4.8	2.0	.3	
Craftmen, foremen, etc.	23.5	24.1	27.3	11.7	12.1	15.6
Operatives	24.6	30.6	26.4	38.8	48.8*	39.0
Service Workers	5.2	9.5	6.7	10.7	5.6*	11.0
Laborers	4.6	5.8	3.2	15.3	18.9*	19.1
Farm or not recorded	4.5	1.1	3.2	11.1	5.6	7.1
Family Income						
-$3000	10.4	13.6	18.7	33.8	39.2	41.1
$3000 - $4999	12.6	16.2	27.8****	25.1	30.9	39.7****
$5000 - $6999	24.6	29.5	28.9	22.4	21.0	15.2
$7000 - $8999	20.5	18.9		9.4	5.3	
$9000+	31.9	20.8	23.4	9.2	2.7	2.5
Region of Birth						
% born in South	19.8	31.4	22.5	48.2	52.4	78.0

(continued on next page)

Table 2-2 (continued)

[*] Based on Tables 99, 103, 122, 139 in U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of the Population: 1960, Vol. I, Part 24 (Michigan), Section D. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1960.

[**] Instead of the white versus non-white split, used by the census, this sample has been divided into non-Negro versus Negro.

[***] Distribution of occupation of males in the labor force.

[****] \$3000 - \$5999

[*****] \$7000 - \$9999

tionally there is no real pattern of differences. It has fewer professionals but is equal in managers and officials, it has fewer clerical and sales persons and more in service or laborers. It definitely differs by being poorer and much more likely to come from the South. The Negro respondents in the family sample follow the same pattern as the whites. They are definitely poorer than the Negroes in the total population and they are more likely to come from the South.

Footnotes

1. When we matched children and family respondents, we found that six interviews with children were misplaced.
2. This table was compiled by Shimon Spiro.

Chapter 3

Reading Skill and Its Relationship to Alternative Measures of Educational Achievement

The dependent variable that we will concentrate on in this report is the reading skill of the child as measured by an achievement test. In this chapter we should like to point out the relationship between this measure and alternative measures. We shall, for instance, indicate how this measure relates to teachers' grades, the extent to which the child has a positive reference orientation to the school, the child's occupational aspirations, his educational aspirations and expectations, the delinquent behavior of the child, the child's school attendance, his "native intelligence" or I.Q. tests, and some general value orientations.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: first, to show that reading skill for the children in our sample is independent enough of most other factors to merit special attention. This is not to say that these other factors might not affect reading skills, but to suggest that reading skills are sufficiently independent so that a knowledge of other factors will not necessarily permit a good knowledge of the child's reading development. For example, we shall argue that a factor such as liking school is not capable for children in our sample of differentiating good and poor readers.

The second purpose of this chapter is to indicate how some of these other measures can be operationalized to study their relationship to reading skills and examined also as separate variables. We will discuss each variable separately and at the conclusion of the chapter put them into a factor analysis to provide a concise format for summarizing our conclusions.

The Measure of Reading Skill

To measure the reading skills of the child we chose the vocabulary part of the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (50). We made the choice because this test was one used by the Detroit Public Schools. This had the advantage that we could compare the achievement scores we measured with the past achievement scores of the child and hence measure not only the level of reading skills but change over time. The vocabulary part of the achievement test was selected because it took only 17 minutes to administer while the total reading section took closer to 55 minutes. Furthermore, these two sub-sections were correlated .83. Their respective reliabilities were in the high 80's. Under these conditions of reliability they could not possibly be correlated any higher than they were (51). In the rest of this report we shall refer to our test as a reading achievement score or test--not as a vocabulary test.

We are aware that the reading achievement test is probably affected by class biases. However, this is not a defect for the purposes to which we are applying it. We are not using it to measure intelligence but to evaluate how well the student is being prepared in a skill required for the intricacies of modern American society. The cultural biases are very likely those which the child must acquire if he is to deal with modern technological society (e.g., the necessity to master the educational ladder). The argument that poor children have an extensive vocabulary that a test doesn't measure has little bearing on this issue. To make the point crystal clear, let us imagine that we are dealing with a child who lives in Detroit but speaks only French. (His reading skills in French are not likely to be well developed because there is not much in the way of reading material available.) Now assume that we give the child an English reading achievement test and he failed it. We would conclude that he is ill prepared to deal with the educational and occupational world of American society. First, he speaks a language that most of the people do not understand. Second, he can not read English which is necessary for learning many advanced job skills.

If, on the other hand, we concluded from this reading test that the French child was of low intelligence, we would be making a serious error. We are not measuring the child's native intelligence; we are simply asking how well the child is equipped educationally to deal with the world around him. We are not saying the child should not know French or that English is intrinsically better but only that to take maximum advantage a child should know the universal language of the society (in addition to that of his sub-culture).

In over reaction to the use of tests for measuring intelligence, people have sometimes overlooked the importance of achievement tests as an evaluation technique to measuring how good a job the school and the family are doing in preparing the child. The question is whether they are effective in such measurement.

To point out that achievement tests, such as the Iowa, are not meant to measure intelligence of the child is not to deny that intelligence may play a role. Presumably, if there is something like innate intelligence this should aid the child in doing better on the achievement tests. In fact, there is a very great overlap in our data between tests of intelligence and tests of reading achievement (a correlation of .63). However, we know that it is very difficult to determine from intelligence tests what is innate ability and what is culturally derived. If in fact the intelligence tests as they are now constructed have a fairly substantial cultural bias, their use would inevitably confuse the analysis of reading skills.1/

With these thoughts in mind let us now turn to alternative measures of education which might have been used in our analysis and ask ourselves what relationship if any they might have to reading. We would also like to indicate why we chose this particular way of defining reading skills rather than other possibilities.

In our initial search for a meaningful dependent variable there were several possibilities we felt might be used. We finally selected the reading achievement test but we should like to review our reasoning as to why reading skills must be observed separate from other related phenomena. As mentioned above these other phenomena may contribute to reading skills but they are different and it would be erroneous to concentrate on them alone as functional substitutes for reading skills.

Teachers' Reading Grades

Perhaps the most obvious substitute for the use of the reading achievement test scores would be the reading grades given to the children on their report cards by the teachers. There was some relationship between the Iowa test scores and reading grades (.51).2/ However, when we looked more closely at the teachers' grades and the Iowa test we had reason to believe that the teachers' grades were being influenced by the child's school behavior as well as his reading skills. In theory the teacher was supposed to judge reading skills separately from the child's behavior and give separate grades for "effort" and "citizenship."

There are several ways that the influence of the child's behavior on reading grades can be seen. First, we asked the teacher to rate each child on a behavior scale.3/ If we look at the relationships between this behavior rating and the reading test and the reading grades we can see that behavior is more likely to be related to the report card grades (.42) than to the Iowa test (.28).

This can be further cross checked by examining the child's response to several questions regarding behavior in schools. We asked the child if he ever made trouble for the teacher. We found this correlated .14 with grades and .06 with Iowa test scores. Similarly we asked the child if he ever left the room without good reason. This correlated .19 with grades and .10 with achievement test scores. We asked the child if he liked school and this correlated .17 with grades in schools and -.06 with achievement scores. In other words, by any measure of the child's self report on school behavior there is generally twice as large a correlation between good behavior and good grades as between good behavior and achievement test scores.

Finally, we looked at the relationship between sex and reading ability. We find a .17 relationship between sex and reading grades but a .00 relationship between sex and Iowa scores. The girls get better grades on reading than the boys but they do no better than boys on reading achievement tests. Since girls tend to be better behaved in school, this is an indirect measure of the relationship between behavior and grades. There is some evidence that teachers tend to get a "fix" on a child and judge him as a totality rather than in terms of specific attributes. Or, put somewhat differently, there tends to be a halo effect in teachers' estimates even though they presumably are being made in different areas. In all fairness to the teacher it should also be pointed out that they are under systematic pressure from the system not to fail too many students. In virtually all of the 18 schools we visited, all decisions to fail had to be reviewed by the principal. There was almost an unwritten rule that no child was to be kept back more than a year below his age group. A second widespread practice was that if the child was a "good citizen" but didn't do well he should be passed.

Based on this analysis as well as one which will be developed below, we came to the conclusion that reading grades given by teachers contained elements other than reading skills and, therefore, were less preferable measures of reading skills than was the achievement test used.

Child Reference Orientation Toward School and Teachers

In addition to this rather direct competitor to the reading test we examined various other aspects of education which we thought to be related to the ultimate achievement of the child.

We asked the child a series of questions on his reference orientation toward the school and toward various subjects. The idea was that the child who had a positive orientation toward school was likely to learn to read better. This is one of the basic tenets of some philosophies of education. The argument is made that if one can develop a positive orientation toward education then other educational skills will follow. This has a reasonable appeal. Much in the literature on learning suggests that a positive orientation increases the extent to which a person learns. However, these studies generally assume that all other conditions are equal.

In fact, however, children who like school most may be in the worst learning situations, and children who like school less may be in the best situations. If a child is in a poor school, where the teachers are not doing a good job and where all his peers are poor readers, then liking school may not be helpful but actually damaging to the child. Or put somewhat differently and more obviously--to identify positively with a poor educational situation is not likely to benefit the child at all. One would expect a positive orientation toward schools and education to relate to reading skills only where the schools or educational experience is a very good one. This is a very important point to keep in mind because many researchers might accept the child's orientation toward school as the best measure of the school's effectiveness.

In order to get at the child's reference orientation toward school we asked him the following question:

Do you like school?

a. All the time
b. Most of the time
c. Some of the time
d. Almost never
e. Never

When this item was correlated with the Iowa reading score we got a -.06 relationship. In other words, there was virtually no relationship between liking school and the reading achievement of the child.

This same point can be made somewhat differently. The 18 schools in our study were clustered into four groups which maximize the amount of variance explained in the Iowa score.4/ These neighborhoods in addition were correlated with socio-economic factors. We will explore these neighborhood differences in great detail in our chapter on the neighborhood (chapter 4). At this point all the reader need take as a given is that these neighborhoods were grouped on social economic characteristics with the two outer city neighborhoods. If we look at the mean reading achievement scores in these neighborhoods we can see that there is a very substantial difference. The neighborhood with the lowest economic level had a mean of -14.7 (345). This is 14.7 months behind the national average. A plus before the score mean indicates above the national average and a minus below the national average. School years are figured on a 10 month basis, so this would represent a figure of one-and-a-half years behind the national average. The next lowest group had a mean of -10.5 (671). The highest economic neighborhood had a mean of +7.6 (167) and the next to highest +0.7 (344). In other words, between the two extreme groups there was a spread of 22.3 months, or the highest economic neighborhood groups had a mean that in reading skills was two-and-one-fifth years ahead of the lowest group.

If we use these Iowa mean scores as indicative of the socio-logical norms on reading, and speak of the lowest group as one which has a low norm on reading achievement and the highest group as having a high norm, then the child's reference orientation toward education has some very instructive bearings on our discussion. For as Table 1 indicates, the inner city schools (those with low income) have the highest percentage of children with a positive orientation toward school (like it all the time) or (like it all the time or most of the time combined). The outer city schools which have the highest reading achievement norm have the smallest percentage with a positive orientation. From Table 1 it can be concluded that positive reference orientation toward schools is less in the higher income areas or about equal (depending on which definition of positive is used). At first blush this would suggest that a positive reference orientation toward schools is actually a negative factor in learning how to read since it tends to predominate in the areas where reading is worst. However, since this is an ecological correlation it may still be true that a reference orientation may be positively related to Iowa scores.

If we look at Table 2A it can be seen that those who have a positive orientation toward school always do better than those who do not. However, those in the high normed neighborhoods are able to use positive reference orientations much more effectively than those in the low normed neighborhoods. Or, relatively speaking, it is true that positive identification with schools in a poor educational situation is bad for reading. Thus, those with positive orientations have 1.7 month advantage over those with a negative orientation in the low normed neighborhoods, while in the high normed neighborhoods those with a positive orientation have a 5.8 month advantage in reading skills. There is almost three times the effectiveness of positive orientation where the learning situation is favorable than where it is unfavorable. If one uses

Table 3-1

Per Cent Liking School by Median Income of Neighborhoods

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Like School All the Time	Like School All or Most of the Time	(N)
Low ($3,366)	52	82	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	50	82	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	34	77	(344)
High ($8,350)	25	77	(169)

Table 3-2A

Reading Achievement Score by Percentage of Children Always or Mostly Liking School Vs. Sometimes, Almost Never, or Never

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Always or Mostly Like School	Sometimes, Almost Never, or Never	Difference between Column 1 and Column 2
Low ($3,366)	(284) -14.3	(61) -16.0	+1.7
Moderately Low ($4,225)	(552) -10.4	(119) -11.0	+0.6
Moderately High ($7,150)	(264) + 2.4	(80) - 3.8	+6.2
High ($8,350)	(121) + 9.5	(46) + 3.7	+5.8

an extreme measure of positive orientation, as in Table 2B, it can be pointed out that positive orientation leads to no improvement or is actually negatively related to reading skills in the poor educational situations. The reader should be clear as to what is being said. We are suggesting that at the elementary school age the development of a positive attitude toward schools and education is not the central issue for explaining the difference in reading skills between children in high and low economic areas. This tends to confirm other studies of dropouts which asked children at what age they began to dislike school and which reported it concentrated at junior high and high school.(9) We are suggesting that a positive orientation toward school is not a central differentiating factor, but it may in extreme cases (where the teachers and schools are doing a very poor job) actually hamper the child's education. In any case, we would argue that the child's orientation toward school is not a substitute for, nor necessarily a prerequisite for, reading achievement.

This is a somewhat bold statement to base on a single item. It might be argued that what we have is a function of the way the question was worded. Or, alternatively, it might be argued that the children may have been frightened and given us stereotypical responses or perversely given us the opposite of what they actually felt. Because this is an important point in establishing the need to study reading achievement as an independent factor as well as establishing the validity of the children's answers for other purposes in our study, we will indicate why we feel that the children's statements on this matter, as well as on others, are basically accurate.

First, let us examine the point on question bias. There might have been something about the particular wording of the question we asked which introduced spurious considerations. Therefore, let us consider several alternative measures of the child's reference orientation toward the school or teachers. We asked the children the following question:

Does your homeroom teacher act fair?

a. All the time
b. Most of the time
c. Some of the time
d. Almost never
e. Never

This differs from the question on liking school in that it specifically refers to a teacher and not to school or education in general. If we examine the percentage of children who answered

Table 3-2B

Reading Achievement Score by Percentage of Children Always Liking School Vs. Mostly, Sometimes, Almost Never, and Never

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Always Like School	Mostly, Sometimes, Almost Never, and Never	Difference between Column 1 and Column 2
Low ($3,366)	(181) -14.8	(164) -14.0	- .8
Moderately Low ($4,225)	(338) -10.4	(333) -10.6	+ .2
Moderately High ($7,150)	(116) + 0.3	(228) + 0.8	- .5
High ($8,350)	(43) + 8.2	(124) + 6.9	+1.3

this question "all of the time" the homeroom teacher is fair, we find that the item has the same pattern as that which asked about "liking school." Thus, 71 per cent of the children from the lowest income neighborhood say teachers are fair all the time while the highest income neighborhood had 55 per cent giving this answer. If we combine those who say "all of the time" and "most of the time," the neighborhood class differences tend to be muted and even slightly reversed. Eighty-five per cent of the lowest income group say the teacher is fair "all of the time" or "most of the time," while eighty-seven per cent from the highest economic stratum give this answer. See Table 3.

The children from the lowest income neighborhoods give more positive evaluations of the fairness of the teacher than children from the highest economic neighborhoods, or give roughly the same evaluations. In no case do they give markedly more negative evaluations than those from the highest economic groups. In this sense this item parallels the item on "liking school."

Still another item which taps a dimension of reference asked:

> How often does your homeroom teacher explain things to boys and girls who need help? (check one)
>
> a. All the time
> b. Almost all the time
> c. Most of the time
> d. Some of the time
> e. Never

If we look at Table 4 we can see the results of this question. In the lowest economic neighborhood 66 per cent of the children say the teacher explains things "all the time" while in the highest economic neighborhood 54 per cent say this. If we combine the two categories of "all the time" and "almost all the time" we find that in the lowest income groups 85 per cent of the children give one or the other answer while in the highest 78 per cent do so. There are some reversals for the two middle income groups. Yet, we can safely say that this item follows the pattern of the "liking" question and the question on the "fairness of teachers."

With these three items all going in the same direction, we can have some confidence that the result is not a function of peculiar wording of any given question.

Table 3-3

Per Cent Saying "Teacher is Fair" by Neighborhoods

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Fair All of the Time	All of the Time or Most of the Time	(N)
Low ($3,366)	71	85	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	68	83	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	64	88	(344)
High ($8,350)	55	87	(169)

Table 3-4

Per Cent Saying "Teacher Explains Things to Children" by Neighborhood

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Explains All of the Time	Explains All or Most of the Time	(N)
Low ($3,366)	66	85	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	56	78	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	58	87	(344)
High ($8,350)	54	78	(169)

Child's Fear of Giving Negative Responses

The question we might now ask ourselves is whether the responses are a function of the child's fear of giving negative responses. The children may, through fear of retaliation or through sheer peevishness at being forced to answer questionnaires, give stereotyped normative answers. There are several ways to check this out. First, we asked the students two questions. The one which appeared first on their questionnaire said:

> Here is a question about the subjects you have in school. Which one do you like best (check one from all of these):
>
> a. social studies
> b. art
> c. arithmetic
> d. reading
> e. music
> f. spelling
> g. science
> h. gym

The question was then repeated with the following wording:

> What do you think is the most important subject for you to learn? (check just one). The same list as above was used.

If the children were giving stereotyped answers then these two questions should be answered alike. However, if we look at Table 5 we can see some major differences. Furthermore, the differences suggest that the students are stating honest preferences rather than giving stereotyped answers. Thus, when asked which subject they liked best, the largest percentage (27) selected gym. When asked which subject matter was most important the largest percentage selected mathematics (42). Subjects like art, music, and gym are chosen as best liked by 53 per cent of the children. They are chosen as most important in 03 per cent of the cases.

This finding suggests that children are clearly not giving us adult normative stereotyped responses when they say they "like something." In the context in which the questionnaire was administered the gym class was not the high priority of the adult world. Yet it is this activity which the child said he most liked.5/

A second indication that the children's responses were not motivated by fear of reprisals may be seen in the fact that the children did provide negative information about themselves when

Table 3-5

Per Cent of Children Saying Which Subject They Like Best
and Which They Think is Most Important

	Social Studies	Art	Arith-metic	Reading	Music	Spelling	Science	Gym	No Answer	Total
Which Subject Children Like	8	17	15	8	9	9	6	27	1	100% (1530)
Which Subject Children Say is Most Important	14	1	42	21	1[illegible]	11	8	1	0	100% (1530)

asked to do so.

The children were asked the following question:

In the last year, how many times have you beat up kids?

a. 4 or more times
b. 3 times
c. 2 times
d. 1 time
e. never

If Table 6 is examined, two things can be noted. First, approximately 50 per cent of the students admitted to beating up other children at least once. Secondly, and in some ways more important, we can see that children from working class neighborhoods are more likely to admit "beating up kids" than those from upper class neighborhoods: 56 per cent from the lowest income neighborhood compared to 37 per cent from the highest income neighborhoods. Since the children from the working class neighborhoods were giving the most positive responses about the teachers, it is of some import to know they are giving the most socially disapproved responses now. This suggests that their prior answers were not stereotyped to adult normative responses prepared specially for the researchers.6/

Somewhat the same results occurred when the children were asked:

How many older boys and girls who live near you do you know who ever skip school? (check one)

a. All of them
b. Most of them
c. Half of them
d. 3 or 4 of them
e. 1 or 2 of them
f. None of them

If we look at Table 7 we see that 54 per cent of the children from low income neighborhoods say they know one or more older children who skip school, while only 26 per cent of the children from the upper class neighborhood say this. Thus, again, the children from the lowest income areas are providing the answers which go counter to adult stereotyped norms.

Further evidence that the working class child has a positive reference orientation to schools is the fact that he is more

Table 3-6

Per Cent of Children Who Say They "Beat Up Other Kids" By Neighborhood

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Per Cent Who Beat Up Other Kids One or More Times	(N)
Low ($3,366)	56	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	53	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	45	(344)
High ($8,350)	37	(169)

Table 3-7

Per Cent of Children Who Say They Know "Older Children Who Skip School" by Neighborhood

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Per Cent Who Say They Know One or More Older Children Who Skip School	(N)
Low ($3,366)	54	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	47	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	14	(344)
High ($8,350)	26	(169)

inclined (compared to the middle class child) to admit to misdeeds outside of school. In the top part of Table 8 we have listed some misdeeds the child can commit outside of the school including the following: stealing, being in trouble with the police, beating up other children, and having a best friend in trouble with the police. It can be seen that in all cases the children coming from working class areas are more likely to admit misdeeds than those coming from the upper class.

Now, by contrast, if we examine misdeeds which are specifically related to activity in school (Table 8), we find either no difference between working class and middle class children or a tendency for middle class children to admit these misdeeds more than the children from lower class neighborhoods. For instance, the children were asked:

> In the last year, how many times have you copied off someone's paper?
>
> a. 4 or more times
> b. 3 times
> c. 2 times
> d. 1 time
> e. never

Whereas 36 per cent of the children from the lowest economic group said they copied off other children's papers 2 or more times, 58 per cent of the children from the highest economic neighborhood made this statement.

The children in addition were asked:

> In the last year, how many times have you made trouble for the teacher?
>
> 4 or more times, 3 times, etc.

Thirty-six per cent of the children in the lowest economic neighborhood said they made trouble one or more times, whereas 48 per cent of the children from the highest economic class said this. If we were to combine the answers of children who said "never" or "one time" the figures would read 18 per cent and 27 per cent.

There is some independent evidence for accepting the children's responses from the teachers. We asked the teachers to rate the children using the following scale:

1. Exceptional positive behavior: always cooperative,

Table 3-8

Per Cent* of Children Reporting Various Forms of Trouble in School and Out of School by Neighborhood

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Trouble Out of School				
	Steal Things from Stores	Beat up Other Children	Trouble with Police	Best Friends in Police Trouble	(N)
Low ($3,366)	22	56	17	39	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	22	53	16	35	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	13	45	10	25	(344)
High ($8,350)	15	37	0	20	(169)

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Trouble in School		
	Made Trouble for the Teacher One or More Times in Last Year	Copied Off Someone Else's Paper (2 or More Times)	(N)
Low ($3,366)	36	36	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	40	37	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	36	49	(344)
High ($8,350)	48	58	(169)

* Per cent reporting one or more times in the last year.

highly trustworthy, never makes trouble, behaves responsibly even when teacher is not around, etc.

2. Generally positive behavior: positive behavior, but not as positive as in 1.

3. Behavior about average: in your opinion, there is nothing especially to note, either positive or negative, about child's behavior.

4. Somewhat negative behavior: sometimes makes trouble, sometimes hard to control, requires considerable watching, usually can't be trusted, tends to talk out of turn, may get into fights, or similar kinds of misbehavior.

5. Frequent negative behavior: generally makes trouble and is hard to control, requires considerable watching, usually can't be trusted when teacher is out of the room, often talks out of turn, gets into fights, or similar kinds of misbehavior.

These ratings were made by the homeroom teacher. She spends about one-half of each school day with the child. If we examine the ratings we can see (in Table 9) the percentage rated as having "somewhat negative" and "frequent negative" behavior in school. The teachers in the lowest income schools rated 21 per cent of the children as falling in these negative behavior categories, and teachers in the highest income schools rated 20 per cent of the children as falling in them. Although the school with next to the highest income has only 15 per cent rated negative, this difference is not large and could well be a reflection of educational performance rather than misbehavior. In general, the teachers seem to provide additional and somewhat independent evidence that school behavior differences between children in low income areas and those in high income areas are small. In addition, on the basis of observation, one can say something about the behavior of the children. We administered the child's questionnaire to all 18 schools, thus taking over several classrooms for one hour in each school. The teachers were not present. We did not notice any major differences by social class in the degree of cooperative behavior of the children. The few principals we spoke to on this matter argue that misbehavior in school is related to the age of the child and the school situation, noting that children do not really become behavior problems in the aggressive sense until they reach the junior high level. The educators point to the size of the junior high school, making it hard for teachers to supervise, to the fact that the children are out from under the control of

Table 3-9

Per Cent of Children Rated as Having Poor School Behavior by Homeroom Teacher* by Neighborhood

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Per Cent Rated as Having Poor School Behavior	(N)
Low ($3,366)	21	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	23	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	15	(344)
High ($8,350)	20	(169)

*For exact working of rating scale see text page 19.

the local neighborhood community, and to the age of children which society defines as involving greater independence.

Finally, we may note a relationship between liking school and getting good report card grades (r=.17). Liking school seems to reflect a positive reward by the teacher and in this sense is a realistic assessment. At the same time, liking school is not related to Iowa scores (r=-.06) even though it is related to the report card grade in reading.

Our discussion of the child's reference orientation toward schools leads to the conclusion that at this age the child in our sample from the worst educational situation (i.e., lowest Iowa scores) is as positively oriented toward schools and teachers as the child from the best educational situation. Attitude toward school is not the crucial difference amongst the children in our sample, although it may become an issue later on in the child's school career.

In the course of pointing out why we believe the children's statements to be accurate, we have also indicated a possible related dependent variable: the child's use of violence outside of school. Though nominally this has no direct bearing on reading skills we shall argue later that in fact it is a very important consideration for developing the "rational" thought process which is central to education. It is also obviously true that a teacher who has to spend much time disciplining and socializing will have less time to teach reading. Therefore, the extent to which the children misbehave and get in trouble could also be used as a dependent variable in a study of educational achievement--though admittedly it is not the same as reading skills. In our study, we shall treat violence and misbehavior as one of several factors affecting the reading skills, but not as a dependent variable in itself.

Occupational Aspirations

Another way of getting at educational motivation is to examine the occupational aspirations of the child. For many people in our society education is seen as instrumental for improving one's life chances, e.g., getting a good job. Put somewhat differently, for a child to be willing to work very hard without any immediate gratification, it is necessary for him to have some strong incentive. One type of incentive is the promise that work at school will bring much greater future rewards--e.g., a good job, with high income, etc. Of course, another incentive is a belief that education is a good in itself. However, for most people it is probably the former incentive that is dominant. In a society such as ours where money is a generalized means to most goals, the power of such an incentive can be well understood. A good occupation with its continued source of income can in turn mean the achievement of almost any goal one aspires to, while the stress on education as an end product in itself is comparatively speaking a more limited inducement.

Following this line of reasoning, it can be argued that if the child has internalized a high achievement orientation--i.e., wants a high status occupation--it may well be assumed that the child can be motivated to work hard educationally. Thus occupational aspirations might be taken as a central dependent variable in any study of education of the child. Therefore, we decided to investigate this question.

When we began this research, we were aware that it might not be very meaningful to ask children 10-12 years old about their occupational aspirations and expectations. This is certainly true in the sense that they may not be able to predict the specific occupation they will choose. However, we argued that at a very early age children begin to differentiate gross levels of occupational strata.

In our pre-testing, we started out by giving the children a list of occupations and asking them which ones they would prefer. Another method was to ask them to write out the occupation they wanted. What we discovered was that most children wanted occupations which were high on the prestige scale, i.e., doctors, lawyers, etc. Furthermore, when there were class differences at all, the working class children were more likely to select the high prestige occupations than were the children from middle class homes. This, of course, caused us to wonder as to the utility of the variable for our purposes. It was plain that, given a free choice, children would like to have high prestige occupations. This in itself is of some importance for it does suggest that our society has somehow managed to instill the "success" syndrome. Presumably, if we were to ask similar questions in a class-crystallized society (as that of the Middle Ages), children would have responded differently--they would have chosen the occupations of their fathers.

In thinking about the problem it occurred to us that in real life the first occupational choices available to a person entering the labor market are generally among low prestige jobs. The high prestige jobs are offered later. Almost any adult may be eligible for a job as a laborer. However, to be a doctor or a lawyer requires a much longer wait. From this line of thinking we developed the idea that what differentiates the working class child from the upper class child may not be difference in occupational preferences but difference in ability to sustain the preferences through time. The working class and middle class children seemed to have the same occupational prestige system and they would all choose the top occupations, but did their class inequalities act so as to develop early in the life of the working class child the sense that he must settle for less? We sought to create a variable which would reflect the alternatives put before children as they grow up. In order to do this we decided to start off by asking the children the following question:

> When you grow up how happy would you be if you had a job as a factory worker, or some job like that? (Check one)
>
> a. Very happy
> b. Happy
> c. Unhappy
> d. Very unhappy

They were given no indication that they would have any other occupational choices to express. This was felt to be realistic in the sense that in fact this is the first type of job that would become available. A little later in the questionnaire we asked the following question:

> When you grow up how happy would you be if you had a job as a shoe salesman, a secretary, or some job like that?

Still later in the questionnaire we asked:

> How happy would you be if you had a job as a doctor, or a teacher, or some job like that?

If, in fact, there is a common norm of occupational achievement in an open-class structure, then all children should prefer the higher occupations over all others. However, if in addition there is a social screening process whereby working class jobs get offered first and middle class jobs later, and if there are differences in motivation, ability, knowledge, and economic resources to hold out for future job opportunities, then it should follow that working class children would be more willing than middle class to accept lower prestige jobs. Put somewhat differently, the chief thing differentiating children of working and middle class in occupational preferences would be their willingness to accept working class jobs, not their willingness to accept professional jobs.

If we look at Table 10 we can see that there is indeed some confirmation for this idea. Across each row we can see that for

Table 3-10

Per Cent Happy or Very Happy to Have a Job as a Factory Worker, Salesman or a Doctor by Neighborhood (Three Separate Questions)

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhoods	Happy as Factory Worker	Happy as Salesman or Secretary	Happy as Doctor or Teacher	(N)
Low ($3,366)	86	87	92	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	75	81	93	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	59	69	89	(344)
High ($8,350)	52	53	79	(169)
Difference between Low and High	34	34	13	

each social class (as represented by neighborhood income) the percentage of people happy to take a job goes up as the prestige of the job goes up. Thus the lowest social class has 86 per cent who would be happy to be a factory worker and 92 per cent who would be happy to be a doctor. We find the same trend for the neighborhoods with the highest median incomes. Thus all strata have somewhat the same occupational prestige scale, e.g., they all prefer the high status to the low status job. However, if one looks down the columns it can be seen that the differences between the upper and lower income groups are much greater with respect to the factory worker job (34 per cent) as against the professional job (13 per cent).

The same thing can be looked at from another perspective. The children from working class neighborhoods are almost equally likely to accept a factory job as a professional job as satisfactory. There is only a 6 per cent difference. By contrast, for the children in a high income neighborhood there is a 27 per cent difference in the choice of a working class job and a professional job.

There is one other point to note in this table: the working class level always shows greater acceptance of any kind of job than the highest income group. There may be two reasons for this. First, the working class children are most likely to have been exposed to unemployment and therefore value any job. Secondly, the upper class child may be more discriminating as to the particular job he will choose. The item on professional occupations mentions "teachers and doctors and jobs like that." We suspect that the upper class child, not finding a specific occupation he wants, would reject this choice as well as the others. Or he may have still higher occupations in mind.

When one examines the two intervening income groups the hypothesized model comes closer into being. There are virtually no differences for these strata from the lowest income group with regard to preferences for the professional jobs. Yet when the answers of these two groups are compared with the lowest group on the factory worker question, they differ by 11 per cent and 27 per cent respectively. As the job being rated has higher status the difference in preferences between children from high and low incomes areas shrinks.

Because the literature indicates that Negro families are more likely to have higher occupational aspirations for their children than white families, it is of some interest to see whether the race of the children alters these findings. We have subdivided the schools into those which are predominantly Negro and those which are predominantly white.7/ As Table 11 indicates, the same findings emerge with even greater clarity when schools predominantly Negro and white are considered separately. Thus, in predominantly white schools the difference between children from highest and lowest economic areas in choosing the factory worker job is 25 points, whereas for the professional job it is 06. For schools predominantly Negro, it is 16 and "0".

The evidence seems to indicate that both upper class and working class children have accepted the same job hierarchy and idea of success. Where they differ is that the working class children are more inclined to accept the first job that comes along while the middle class child is more inclined to wait until he gets the job he wants. There are at least two reasons why the working class child may behave in this way. First, his family might realistically not be in the position to support him (educationally) while he prepares for a better job. Secondly, the child might not have the necessary knowledge to understand what it takes to get the better job.

For the purposes of our study two consequences follow from these findings. One, occupational aspiration is a legitimate dependent variable for study if one is interested in why low income areas systematically produced more poorly educated children. Poorer children at an early age have been conditioned to accept lower status jobs with their implied lower educational standards. Or, put somewhat differently, they may not have the same occupational incentives to do well in school as the middle class child.

The second point is a methodological one. In order to measure the child's occupational incentive the typical forced choice questions are inappropriate (e.g., which of the following occupations would you want or what job do you want, etc.). It is necessary to structure the question so as to find out what occupational level the child will settle for. In the case of our study, the crucial differentiating item is the extent to which the child will settle for lower status jobs; they all want the high status ones.

It is to be noted that occupational aspirations and reading skills are different variables although they are correlated. The correlation between acceptance of a factory worker job and Iowa reading test scores was .31. This suggests that we should consider factors which relate to occupational aspirations as independent variables that might affect reading skills. However, we will not treat occupational aspiration as a dependent variable in our study.

Table 3-11

Per Cent Saying Happy to be Factory Worker and Happy to be a Doctor by Racial Majority of the School by Neighborhoods

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Happy to be a Factory Worker	Happy to be a Doctor or Teacher	(N)
	Predominantly White Schools		
Low ($3,366)	77	85	(84)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	76	92	(415)
Moderately High ($7,150)	59	89	(345)
High ($8,350)	52	79	(170)
	Predominantly Negro Schools		
Low ($3,366)	88	95	(261)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	72	95	(257)
Moderately High ($7,150)	--	--	
High ($8,350)	--	--	

Educational Aspirations

The same point can be made regarding educational aspirations as was made for occupational ones. The child's commitment to higher educational goals may be a measure of his determination to learn. The child who has internalized the notion that college is a necessary and possible step in the educational ladder might strive much harder than others to prepare himself educationally. One could argue, therefore, that the measurement of educational aspiration is in itself a major concern for those seeking to understand why children from low income areas do much worse in reading than children from high income areas.

In order to get at the children's educational aspirations we asked them the following question:

> If nobody made you go, when would you stop going through regular school? (Check one)
>
> a. Stop now
> b. Stop before you finish high school
> c. Stop after you finish high school
> d. Stop after part of college
> e. Stop after you finish a regular four-year college
> f. Finish college and then go on for more schooling

If we examine Table 12 we can see the overwhelming majority of children from all groups would like to go to college or beyond (roughly 80 per cent of the children checked category 5 or 6 above). Apparently, at this age the idea of educational achievement has been instilled as the right kind of thing to aspire for. This, of course, says nothing about how strongly the children cling to this ideal nor does it say if in fact they are prepared to actually achieve this ideal. Nevertheless, it is a very important thing to stress that children at this age and from all economic areas in our sample hold high educational achievement as an ideal goal.

Convincing such children of the importance of education is not a major problem. Thus, 86 per cent of the children coming from the lowest economic areas want college or more and this matches the 85 per cent of the children coming from the highest economic neighborhoods and slightly surpasses the 80 and 76 per cent coming from the intermediate economic neighborhoods. Actually, when one splits the question into its component parts and separates those who want more than a college education from those wanting just the regular four-year college, one finds that children from the poorer neighborhoods actually have higher aspirations

Table 3-12

Per Cent of Children Who Would Go to College or Beyond
by Neighborhoods

Median Income Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Per Cent to College	Per Cent Beyond College	Per Cent College or Beyond	(N)
Low ($3,366)	28	58	86	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	33	47	80	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	42	34	76	(344)
High ($8,350)	50	35	85	(169)

than those from the wealthier ones. Thus, 58 per cent of the children from low income neighborhoods want to go beyond college while only 35 per cent of those from high income neighborhoods so indicate.

Since educational aspiration like occupational aspiration has been shown to be related to race, we compared the college aspirations of children at schools in which the majority were Negro with those schools where the majority were white.8/ Such a comparison showed that for the schools dominated by white students college aspiration does take on a modest relationship to economic level of the neighborhood. Seventy-two per cent of those from the lowest economic group aspired to go to college or beyond while 85 per cent of the highest economic group had this aspiration. For the Negro dominated schools there is no relation or a reverse one between class and educational aspirations. Furthermore, it can be seen that the children from schools dominated by Negro families have consistently higher aspirations than those dominated by the white families--just as the prior literature suggested. (See Table 13.)

Thus, once race is taken into account, there is some indication that children from white dominated schools and living in higher economic areas tend to have higher aspirations than those from white dominated schools in lower areas. This difference does not hold for children in Negro dominated schools. The outstanding feature of the finding is not the modest differences among white dominated schools but the extent to which all children have accepted the legitimation of higher education.

Granted these are ideal goals, the question arises as to whether the children actually expect to achieve them. There are two lines of analysis open to us. First, we can examine their reported expectations. Second, we can apply the same type of analysis as that applied to occupational aspirations, viz., will children settle for less.

First, proceed with the expectation question. We asked the children:

> What are your chances of finishing high school?
>
> a. Excellent
> b. Very good
> c. Good
> d. Fair
> e. Poor
> f. Will not go to college

Table 3-13

Per Cent Saying They Would Want to Go to College or Beyond By Racial Majority of the School by Neighborhood

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	College or Beyond	
	White Schools	Negro Schools
Low ($3,366)	72 (84)	91 (261)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	76 (415)	86 (257)
Moderately High ($7,150)	76 (344)	-- (0)
High ($8,350)	85 (169)	-- (0)

We also asked the same question about college. If we examine those answering excellent, very good, or good chance of finishing college, there is no real difference between the children coming from low income neighborhoods and those from high income areas. See Table 14. There is a slight difference between economic areas when expectation of finishing high school is examined with 76 per cent of the children from low income areas saying they had a good or better chance while 82 per cent of those from the high income group said this. If we examine these findings controlling for the racial composition of the schools we can see that amongst the white dominated schools there is a slight economic relationship. However, it is still somewhat modest in character. See Table 15. All of this might suggest that educational aspiration, like positive orientation toward schools, is not central in explaining why children in lower economic areas do so poorly, since these children do not differ from those in higher economic areas on aspirations or expectations.

There is, however, still another way of getting at the differential convictions of children from working class and upper class neighborhoods. We asked the children the following question:

> Do you want to go to a special school where you can learn a trade, like how to be a mechanic or a beauty parlor operator? (Check one)
>
> a. Yes
> b. No

The assumption is made that where a person says he wants to go to such a trade school he is unlikely to go on to college. All we have demonstrated so far is that children of all social classes want to go to college and expect to finish. We are now seeking to determine if some children systematically leave the educational ladder for lesser educational opportunities which they also find attractive. As in the occupational system, the lesser educational opportunities frequently get offered first in time and require less effort to enter. If, for instance, the working class child finds one of these attractive he might be steered off in this direction because it arises first--even though he has a high priority for college education.

Table 16 shows that there is indeed some tendency for children coming from low income neighborhoods more readily to answer they would go to a trade school than do children from higher income neighborhoods. For instance, 66 per cent of the children from the lowest income group said they would like to go to a special school for learning a vocational trade such as mechanic or

Table 3-14

Per Cent Saying "Excellent, Very Good, or Good Chance" of Finishing High School or College by Neighborhood

Median Income Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Per Cent Saying Chances of Finishing College Excellent, Very Good, or Good	Per Cent Saying Chances of Finishing High School Excellent, Very Good, or Good	(N)
Low ($3,366)	68	76	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	63	77	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	66	83	(344)
High ($8,350)	66	82	(169)

Table 3-15

Per Cent Saying "Excellent, Very Good, or Good" Chance of Finishing High School and the Same Question for College by Racial Majority of School and Neighborhoods

	Predominantly White Schools		
Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Good or Better Chance of Finishing College	Good or Better Chance of Finishing High School	(N)
Low ($3,366)	62	74	(84)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	60	78	(415)
Moderately High ($7,150)	66	83	(345)
High ($8,350)	66	82	(170)
	Predominantly Negro Schools		
Low ($3,366)	70	76	(261)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	69	75	(257)
Moderately High ($7,150)	--	--	
High ($8,350)	--	--	

Table 3-16

Per Cent Saying "They Would Go to Trade School to Learn to Be a Mechanic or Beauty Operator" by Neighborhood

Median Income of Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Per Cent Going to Trade School	(N)
Low ($3,366)	66	(345)
Moderately Low ($4,225)	69	(672)
Moderately High ($7,150)	53	(344)
High ($8,350)	44	(169)

beauty parlor operator while only 44 per cent of the children from the high income group made this statement. What is impressive is that both groups of children, when asked the question as to how far in the educational system they would like to go, overwhelmingly answered college or more (e.g., 86 per cent of the children from low income neighborhoods and 85 per cent of those from high income neighborhoods). What seems to differentiate these two groups is not so much what they would ideally want but basically what they are willing to settle for.9/

In conclusion, it would seem that educational aspirations and occupational aspirations share many of the same features. Children have internalized the educational and occupational prestige scales. Given a free choice they would prefer to have the highest prestige occupation and the most education. This is not what differentiates the child living in the low income area from the child living in the high income area. What does differentiate them is what they are willing to settle for, granted all things are not equal--e.g., they do not have equal economic resources to engage in training, they do not have equal knowledge to prepare themselves, they do not have equal training opportunities, etc. If we are to include some measures of occupational and educational aspirations in our study it becomes extremely important to include those which measure what children are willing to settle for--not just what they might ideally aspire to. In our study we made the decision that though educational aspiration (in this more refined sense) has an important ingredient in the educational processes it was still distinct from the dependent variable--the skills the child actually learned. As such we would try to incorporate it among our independent variables, e.g., show how families stressing different occupational level can affect the child's reading skills.

Concluding Statement on the Choice of a Dependent Variable

We have developed the reasons we consider it appropriate for our purposes to choose the Iowa test scores--an independent and uniformly available observation that could be made on all children--as the chief dependent variable for the study. In order to make clear empirically what this choice means in terms of other kinds of measures that might reflect the educational behavior of school children, we present in concluding this chapter the results of a factor analysis of the available items from which dependent variables might have been fashioned. We can thus see both the extent of independence of the Iowa scores from other variables and the kinds of variables that will not be effectively represented. It is important to be clear about what aspects of educational behavior are not examined in the subsequent analysis.

From the questionnaires for children, the homeroom teacher ratings, the school records, 49 variables deemed to represent aspects of academic achievement and conformity to approved behavior norms (what the school called "good citizenship") were selected. These and three "background" variables (sex of child, race, and family income) were factor analyzed (principal axes solution, varimax rotation). Six of the 9 factors extracted are considered interpretable and Table 17 presents a matrix of factor loadings for the 29 variables that had loadings of .40 or greater on any of the six interpretable factors.10/ The variables are arranged in the table so that those defining each factor are grouped.

Each of the six factors is seen to be relatively independent and examination of the variables for each factor permits quite reasonable definitions. Factor I (ignoring for the moment the background variables) is clearly defined by Iowa test scores for which there are two measures (correlated -.82) with which I.Q. is associated. These variables have negligible loadings on the other factors, even on Factor II which is defined by the achievement and effort grades found in the school records. A more substantial, but by no means defining, loading is found for the I.Q. variable. It is to be noted further that modest loadings for the Iowa test Factor I occur for several variables of Factor II (particularly 37--Reading achievement grade, 50--chances of finishing high school--teacher's estimate, and 39--Arithmetic achievement grade). Modest loadings for Factor I also appear for the variables (1--Scale of child's "happiness" with given occupational level, 12--Child "happy" to have factory job, and 13--Child "happy to have sales job) that define Factor IV as a factor representing the occupational aspiration of the child. The first-order correlations of Iowa scores (variable 41) with the variables of these two factors (II and IV) are listed below:

Correlation of 41--Iowa test scores with....

38 - Reading effort grade	-.37
40 - Arithmetic effort grade	-.34
39 - Arithmetic achievement grade	-.38
50 - Chances of finishing HS.-teachers est.	-.52
51 - Behavior rating by teacher	-.28
45 - Citizenship grade	-.29
37 - Reading achievement grade	-.51
1 - Scale of child's "happiness" with given occupational level	.32
12 - Child "happy" to have factory job	.31
13 - Child "happy" to have sales, etc., job	.22

Table 3-17

Matrix of Variables for 6 Interpretable Factors from Factor Analysis of Possible Dependent Variable Items (a)

Variable Identification	Variable No.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	h$^{2(b)}$
Iowa test scores	41	-83	-27	13	-12	01	-05	80
Iowa scores above or below norm	49	78	20	-14	07	-03	02	67
I.Q. (most recent test)	42	58	44	-03	16	-02	05	60
Race	47	45	12	14	19	20	04	33
Total family income	52	-42	-08	00	-18	12	-05	26
Reading effort grade	38	18	75	-14	06	12	14	67
Arithmetic effort grade	40	13	75	-03	08	03	15	71
Arithmetic achievement grade	39	20	70	01	09	01	08	67
Chances of finishing high school--teacher's estimate	50	34	67	-13	12	09	14	65
Behavior rating by teacher	51	08	66	-07	02	07	33	58
Citizenship grade	45	10	63	-07	04	03	30	53
Reading achievement grade	37	35	60	-14	09	15	07	57
Child's estimate of chances of finishing college	17	-04	11	-73	-01	14	12	60
Child's estimate of chances of finishing high school	16	11	24	-61	03	04	15	48
Child's report of "when stop school"	11	04	-02	44	07	-25	-05	29
Scale of child's "happiness" with given **occupation level**	1	-24	-07	02	-74	-16	05	69
Child "happy" to have factory job	12	-23	-10	03	-73	07	03	61
Child "happy" to have sales, etc. job	13	-21	02	00	-50	15	08	48
Child's response on "liking school"	19	-06	11	-19	-13	55	26	45

Table 3-17 (continued)

Matrix of Variables for 6 Interpretable Factors from Factor Analysis of Possible Dependent Variable Items (a)

Variable Identification	Variable No.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	$h^{2(b)}$
Child "happy" to be a doctor, etc.	14	-10	-02	-11	-09	46	03	37
Child "liked school a year ago"	20	-08	10	-11	-11	49	23	34
Child "ever wished to drop out of school	21	-05	-06	12	01	-43	-27	32
Number times child tried to see who was "chicken"	28	-02	-09	06	-03	-09	-61	39
Number times child "made trouble for teacher"	26	06	-22	01	00	-09	-60	43
Number times child "beat up kids"	25	-10	-16	01	-06	-12	-56	40
Number times child "stole things"	27	-08	-03	08	-03	-07	-53	35
Number times child "in trouble with police"	30	-11	-03	12	00	04	-51	38
Number times child "left class"	29	-04	-14	03	02	-05	-42	21
Child's "best friends in trouble with police"	31	-17	-13	06	-08	-07	-41	29

(a) Decimal point omitted.
(b) Communalities based on 9 factors extracted.

It may be concluded that the use of Iowa score as the major dependent variable will carry some implication for the kind of school-relevant content of Factors II and IV, namely the child's school grades and his occupational aspirations. Note, too, that two "school behavior" variables (51 and 45) and the teacher's estimate of the child's educational future (50) are included.

Factor I is the only factor on which the two background variables (race and income) are meaningfully loaded. The third background variable--sex--showed little relation to any factor although it was moderately correlated (.25 to .47 for first-order coefficients) with variables usually expected to be associated with school-boy-school-girl differences (e.g., "citizenship" grades, behavior ratings of teacher, making trouble for teacher, reading magazines out of school, "happy" to have a sales job). We will be reflecting the import of race and income (correlated in the magnitudes of .38 and .36) when we use Iowa test scores as our dependent variable.

The other factors are clearly separable and not reflected in analyses using Iowa scores as the dependent variable. Factor III is defined by the child's own estimates of his educational future (variables 17 and 16 and 11). Factor V--less strongly defined than the other factors--can be considered to reflect the child's liking for school (with which his "happiness" to be a doctor is associated). Factor VI is clearly a self-report of extent of misbehavior.

When planning the research, we conceived the behavior we hypothesized to be affected by relations between the school and external primary groups as a composite of "educational achievement" and "good citizenship"--terms often used by educators with whom we talked. Therefore, we included items in our data-gathering instruments on both of these kinds of behavior. We now see that they may be different phenomena, despite the plausible belief that they must be closely related. It would be desirable to replicate the entire analysis that follows in this report with "good citizenship" as the dependent variable but we shall not do so for two reasons: first, our resources do not permit it at this time; second, as we indicated earlier, we believe educational achievement to be the more crucial consideration for children of elementary school age and perhaps more directly related to the kind of interactions between schools and families and neighborhoods that we seek to investigate. It can be argued that academic disabilities are more likely to lead to delinquent and other deviant behaviors than the reverse, although they undoubtedly interact with and reinforce one another.

In any event, we are satisfied that the use of educational achievement as measured by standardized test scores is a highly important social phenomenon to study. It will also represent a severe test of a theory that proposes to examine how educational achievement is affected by the interaction of gross factors of the social environment such as the type of formal organization, family and neighborhood structure, and the links between them.

Footnotes

1. For instance, holding I.Q. constant while one sought to determine the effects of other variables, such as neighborhood and family, on reading skills would tend to mute the relationship when it might be very substantial. To the extent that I.Q. and reading skills are two different measures of the same thing, holding one constant only leaves measurement errors to analyze. Insofar as these in turn are random one will have no relationships between reading skills and other factors. Insofar as the errors are not random one will have spurious relationships. Arthur Jensen, in a personal conversation, suggests that his review of the literature indicates that as a factor in human behavior I.Q. tests presuppose a certain level of cultural attainment before they play a decisive role. Given the very low income of almost two-thirds of our sample, the use of I.Q. tests could be especially biasing if Jensen is correct.

2. Unless otherwise stated all correlations in this chapter are Pearsonian coefficients.

3. See in this chapter p. 19 for a complete description of this scale.

4. See Chapter 4 for a detailed explanation.

5. A second thing which is most impressive about this finding is the extent to which the children focused on mathematics as the most important subject. They could have chosen reading, science, or social studies and still have met the adult world's general normative expectation. The fact that the children selected arithmetic represents a degree of sophistication at an early age which certainly was not anticipated.

6. We are aware that the response patterns of areas rather than cross-tabulations for respondents are used to support these interpretations. Therefore, they are made only tentatively.

7. The schools designated as predominantly Negro have over 95 per cent of their children Negro. The schools designated as predominantly white have between 45 to 100 per cent white. Because of our sampling design all families in the outer city (the moderately high and high achievement normed neighborhoods) are white. Of the 6 schools in the inner city, 2 are almost equally split between Negro and white and the other four have on the average of 83 per cent white. Thus, although this procedure gives only a rough approximation of

race differences for all schools, it provides very good measures so far as comparisons of Negro schools and outer city schools are concerned.

8. See footnote 7 above for how schools were defined.

9. These are ecological correlations and therefore they are only suggestive regarding the relationship between educational aspiration and trade school.

10. Four additional variables, not included in Table 17, had loadings of .40 or above on the other three factors (variables 46 - School absences, 4 - Child's report on reading newspapers out of school, 48 - Child's report of reading magazines out of school, and 4 - Sex.

References

1. (Your page 2, my page 1.) See Manual for Administrators, Supervisors, and Counselors of the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955.

2. E.F. Lindquist and A.N. Heironymus, [?] et al, Iowa Tests of Basic Skills Format [?]. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955, pp. 4-5.

3. (Your page 13, my page 9.) Bowman and Matthews (Quincy Project).

Chapter 4

Neighborhood Structure--Its Theoretical Function and Some Preliminary Contextual Effects

Introduction

As suggested in Chapter 1, there are at least two major primary groups which might affect the learning skills of the child: the family and the neighborhood. In the literature the neighborhood has been comparatively neglected, but there is a large theoretical and empirical literature on the family. Only recently--within the last ten to fifteen years--have sociologists begun to give serious consideration to neighborhoods as explanatory factors in social behavior. One index of the state of intellectual development would be a comparison of typologies in the fields of the family and the neighborhood. Whereas the field of the family has numerous multidimensional classificatory schemes (e.g., nuclear and extended, conjugal and consanguine, companionships and institutional, family of orientation and of procreation, entrepreneurial and bureaucratic families, etc.), the field of the neighborhood has relatively few, fairly simple dichotomous schema (e.g., transitory, delinquent or non-delinquent, etc.). The dimensions of family typology have often been studied in some detail whereas neighborhood typologies frequently have little in the way of substantial research to support them.

Historically, both the neighborhood and family are often viewed as increasingly feeble forms of influence in an industrial society. In theoretical and empirical terms, the movement that characterizes modern society as moving from a folk to an urban community, from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft, etc., is another way of saying that primary groups such as the family are decreasing in importance with the development of industrial society. The fragmentation of primary groups is seen as coincident with the development of large scale organizations, of the mass communication media, and with impersonal, segmental, and instrumental relationships between people. This view of the changing role of the family in modern society has dominated sociological thinking since the early part of the century until very recently. It is a view still held by a substantial number of social scientists today.(87)

However, since the late 1940's a series of empirical studies have come more or less independently to the conclusion that the family is still an important factor in many crucial aspects of contemporary society.(88) These studies have been buttressed by strong theoretical arguments for the effectiveness of both a nuclear and an extended family unit.(58) In most instances the authors have argued that the family has changed but still maintains vital functions. With respect to the neighborhood, it is generally held that it is unlikely to survive in any recognized form.(90)

The empirical and theoretical literature on the neighborhood has developed somewhat later than that on the family and still does not offer a good statement of the generic functions of neighborhoods. Typical in this regard are studies which show the impact of a neighborhood effect but rarely explain why the neighborhood should play any role at all.(10) There are some notable exceptions.(18) We should like to touch on this problem in order to establish a theoretical base for any finding that the neighborhood plays a role. Without such a base, the finding may be viewed as historically aberrant, a vestigal remain that will pass with time.

Unique Neighborhood Functions

In our discussion of balance theory we point out that primary groups, as contrasted to bureaucratic organizations, are more effective (provide a better basis of social power) when dealing with non-uniform events. We point to two crucial primary groups in our society--the family and the neighborhood. We now ask what theoretically differentiates the functions of the neighborhood from those of the family? We will first differentiate the neighborhood from the kin structure of the family and then from the nuclear family structure.

As previously noted, primary groups can be defined in terms of the following generic categories--face-to-face relationships, diffused relations, affective relationships, relatively permanent relationships, and non-instrumental relations. Structurally, what differentiates the extended kin from the neighborhood in a highly mobile industrial society is that the neighborhood has face-to-face relationships but not permanent ones, while the kin has permanent relationships but not necessarily face-to-face. This suggests three types of situations where the neighborhood might have functional superiority over the kin. First, in situations where speed of contact is essential. If, for instance, one needs to go to the store but wants somebody to watch the sleeping baby for the short period while he is away, the next door neighbor (if willing) is even more accessible than a relative who lives ten minutes away. Time emergencies may vary from something as trivial as getting a neighbor's aid in order to make a last minute appointment to the more serious situation when a major accident completely incapacitates someone and a period must be covered between immediate helplessness and the arrival of professional aid. The neighborhood can step into this breach much more quickly than kin or non-neighbor friend. The classic example of this case is the rescue of people during catastrophies such as tornadoes. In such instances as high as 75 per cent of the people are rescued during the first few hours by neighbors or relatives who happen to be neighbors as well.(23)

Another situation in which the neighborhood can function better than kin is when everyday contact is essential for effects to be felt or where primary services are organized around geographical areas. It must be recognized that much socialization takes place through the everyday exposure to others. This socialization may occur without the socializer or socializee being aware of it. Thus Lipitt et al. (52) speak of contagion among children in a camp. One child adopts the dress and speech manners of a positive reference figure without even being aware of it. Similarly, it is likely that children learn values, verbal habits, modes of reasoning from everyday associations with peers without being aware of it. Parents may learn new ways of child rearing, clothing styles, social manners from their everyday contacts with neighbors without being aware of it. Homans goes even further and argues that under certain conditions everyday contact leads to positive affect between people.(36) Behaviors which cannot be taught in a classroom lecture, or handed down through books or other forms of media, might well be influenced by everyday contact with neighbors. This influence may be very widespread and crucial. For instance, an expert on child rearing may be able to provide some general tenets of good child rearing, or he might be able to diagnose a serious defect in such practices. However, he is generally in no position to supply the detailed knowledge that confronts a mother every 24 hours when she is trying to raise a child in our society. Perhaps this is why child rearing experts are probably no more successful than many mothers in the rearing of their own children. Learning to be a good mother might be strongly influenced by everyday imitation and advice of one who is in the process of successfully rearing a child.

Neighbors also perform better than other units those tasks which have to be organized on a geographical basis. For instance, schools, police protection, maintenance of streets, garbage collection, are all important functions in our society which are now organized around geographical units. The functional effectiveness of such services can be materially aided or deterred by one's neighbor. We cannot at this time state the general conditions under which services are ideally organized by geographical area but this does not detract from our statement that this is a field in which the neighborhood can function better than the kin structure. Furthermore, this seems likely to be a functional arrangement that is likely to persist in our society.

Having outlined at least three somewhat interrelated situations where the neighborhood can operate better than the kin structure, we will now consider conditions in which the neighborhood can operate more effectively than the nuclear family unit.1/

Extended kin and the neighborhood operate in different spheres of life, the neighborhood in those spheres where immediacy, everyday interaction, or geographical location are central. Both kin and neighborhood provide at least two services for the nuclear family. First, they can supply greater resources for solving problems. The nuclear family has limited human resources; there are at most only two adults in the family. The solution to all kinds of everyday problems, from minor but psychologically crucial everyday advice on child rearing, to the best place to shop, to the best places to get help, to everyday advice on minor marital problems, might be very much aided by kin and neighborhood.2/ The extension of primary group resources is, then, one of the unique contributions of the neighborhood to the nuclear family.

In addition, there are certain kinds of problems which the nuclear family--almost by definition--cannot deal with: problems where the two adults in the family are in dispute may make it difficult for either to help the other, problems where some tragedy befalls one or more family members may incapacitate the nuclear unit so that outside help is required. Too much closeness in the nuclear family may make it difficult for either member of the adult nuclear dyad to assess a given problem objectively. An example is the handling of mental illness in the family. Its onslaught is frequently slow and imperceptible, and, because of the intense emotional involvement in the nuclear family, the spouse may become so socialized to the mental illness of his partner that he may not be able to discern it. As with physical disease, such intimate contact may actually lead the healthy spouse to develop aberrant behavior. Under these circumstances it takes someone sufficiently close to the family to see what is going on, yet distant enough not to be caught up in the socialization experience so as to provide initial aid, e.g., advise seeking professional help. Again a neighbor or a kin may perform this function.

Though no claim is made to theoretical completeness, we hope the above discussion has made clear some of the unique functions of the neighborhood as a primary group when compared to either the extended family or the nuclear family unit. In order to explain the role of the neighborhood as a factor in the educational process, we must eventually be able to state its unique roles that cannot be better performed by other groups, e.g., family, schools, or other bureaucratic organizations.

Geographical Unit for Neighborhood

There is another uncertain area in the conceptual and empirical study of the neighborhood: what is the proper geographical unit to define neighborhood? In some studies, high school districts are said to be neighborhoods.(84) In Detroit one high school district includes over 300,000 people. In other studies an acknowledged sub-community, like Greenwich Village, might be thought of as a neighborhood.(27) On the other extreme, when speaking about neighborhood some people speak of next-door neighbors or the immediate block or apartment building in which an individual or family lives.(21) One of the few sociologists to deal with this problem of definition, Greer, suggests that these different units may have different functions. (29a) This is our view as well. We will not develop the different functional utilities of these different geographical units aside from saying that, like Greer, we see them as real. We suggest that they might eventually be given different names, just as family theory has names to differentiate various sized kinship units, e.g., nuclear, extended family, clan, etc. We might eventually refer to the small block neighborhood unit as a nuclear neighborhood unit, and the larger walking distance neighborhood as an extended neighborhood unit.

In our discussion of neighborhood we will utilize the elementary school district as the major defining unit. This may be described as the walking distance measurement of neighborhood or the extended neighborhood. In Detroit, where this study was done, elementary schools in our sample are generally no more than a ten minute walk from any given child's house. In later analysis where we speak about neighbors' views of each other or about exchange of services we will occasionally utilize a nuclear or block neighborhood concept.

Group Character of Reading Skills

The use of the elementary school district as the neighborhood definition is partly a question of methodological expediency and in part a function of our dependent variable. One assumption we are making is that the learning of reading skills is in part a group outcome. Too often learning to read is viewed and studied as an individual matter or at most as a dyadic relationship between child and teacher. We are assuming that the teacher contributes to the learning process within a group context. If, for instance, the teacher has a class of exceedingly unruly children and as a consequence has to spend all of her time maintaining order, she will not be able to devote much time to the few children who are not unruly and want to learn to read. Or if most of the children are completely unprepared for reading and there are one or two who are well prepared, the teacher may not be able to give much attention to the prepared children because her time and energies are drained off by the others. We are not talking exclusively about a child's classroom peers. We recognize that even if a particular classroom group is very positive toward education but the rest of the school negative from a history of dealing with deprived children, the teacher might not be able to give the proper attention to the positive group. Such a school may recruit or socialize teachers to orient themselves in a negative way toward children so that when an occasional good group comes along no one is prepared to deal with it. Furthermore, insofar as the parent and neighborhood influence teacher relationships to the child, this may maintain itself as a continuing force despite any given classroom group.

The learning experience of the child is inextricably intertwined with his particular classroom associates, with all the other children in the school, and with the past experiences of the school with children and parents. These have all gone into shaping the teacher's attitudes toward the children and how she will approach the teaching process. We think the neighborhood is especially important in the elementary school in most cities of America because it is likely to be more homogeneous than larger school units. As a homogeneous unit it is likely to have more impact on the school than the larger high school areas where a variety of heterogeneous sub-units may cancel each other out. In addition, the young age of the children is such that there is social pressure on the parents to maintain a continuous supervision of the child extending even into the schools. Finally, the relatively small size of the elementary school district makes it probable that people with common interest--a child in the same school and the same grade--will meet each other and share experiences. As a consequence, the probability of joint neighborhood action is much greater.

Using the elementary school or the walking distance neighborhood as the unit, there are two modes of analysis which can be made to establish neighborhood effect. The one most often used in current sociological analysis is sometimes called contextual analysis, in which a group is characterized by some summary measure, such as the mean, and the individuals with common characteristics are examined to see if they differ in behavior when they are in a group with a high mean or a low mean. The use of the term "contextual" analysis is frequently misleading, in that it is another word for a primitive meaning of organizational structure. The use of a statistic, such as the mean, generally enables the researcher to define individuals in the group as members of a majority or minority. Defining group structure in terms of one such dimension is exceedingly primitive when compared to the definition of bureaucracy or primary groups where five or more interacting dimensions are used to define the group "context." This is not to deny the importance of the empirical work done under the concept of contextual analysis, nor to deny its theoretical usefulness once its relation to other bodies of theory is made explicit.

We shall in our work follow this empirical tradition with some elaboration. Much empirical work has been satisfied to demonstrate that individual characteristics are significantly influenced or not influenced by neighborhood context. For example, Wilson, in one of the first studies, points out how aspirations of the child are significantly affected by class context of the neighborhood. (97) Working class children in upper class neighborhoods had higher aspirations than working class children in working class neighborhoods. More recently some argue that neighborhood, though having an effect, has a relatively minor one. (84) Still others point out (10) that investigators generally find neighborhood effects when they draw their samples from large cities and no neighborhood effect when they sample small towns. One of the major factors differentiating small communities from large cities is the degree of homogeneity of high school districts (the units most often used in studying neighborhood effects in education). In a small community they are often heterogeneous because they include all people in the community, i.e., people from different classes. However, in a large city with the tendency for homogeneous residential segregation, one is more likely to find high schools homogeneous in terms of class, race, and religion. In short, in the large cities high school boundaries may in fact coincide with sociological neighborhoods, assuming that neighborhoods in most American communities are shaped by the rule of status homogeneity. Spiro, studying voluntary participation, found that neighborhood effects are stronger where the block is the unit for defining neighborhood as compared to the census tract or elementary school boundaries.3/

This discussion highlights a general methodological point. Because American cities have homogeneous neighborhoods, there is a high correlation between family characteristics and neighborhood block characteristics. As a consequence, many findings which have been attributed to families could as easily be attributed to neighborhood blocks as well. Generally the critics of contextual analysis have stressed the opposite point, namely that finer distinctions or more detailed analysis of individual characteristics would cause the contextual effect to disappear. It is our view that this controversy cannot be settled by empirical data alone since there are an endless number of individual characteristics which can be examined but which also define the neighborhood characteristics of these same families.

We suggest that investigators try to state more explicitly how they see the neighborhood or the family operating in a given situation. Once stated, the empirical processes can be investigated to see if the hypothesized relations do in fact occur. In conjunction with the prior analysis, this will permit, for any given analysis, a better assessment of the role of the neighborhood or of the family.

In this chapter we begin a "contextual" analysis. In following chapters we will try to delimit some of the mechanisms by which neighborhood affects the individual and see if they in fact empirically exist. The first part of the analysis will be somewhat primitive in that we will consider only one and two variables at a time. We will introduce standard demographic characteristics. They will appear in more complex form, along with other variables, in a later analysis when we discuss what family characteristics might in theory be affected by neighborhood consideration.

The Grouping of Neighborhoods

In order to get a view of the relationship of our variables to each other we analyzed the most obvious "demographic" factors which might relate to Iowa reading score by means of a computer program developed by Sonquist and Morgan.(85) In this program, all variables are inspected and the one selected which when dichotomized will explain most of the variance in the dependent variable, i.e., yield the least amount of variance within groups and the maximum variance between groups. Using this split, the program proceeds to reexamine the variables (including categories left over from the variable already split if it is more than a dichotomy) for each of the two new groups. For each it then selects again the variable explaining the most variance, continuing in this fashion until the number of cases is too small or until the variance within a given group is so small that any further splitting does not add to the amount of variance explained. This analysis requires no assumption of order for the given variables.

This analysis measured for the following nine independent variables: the 18 schools, child's mother's race, mother's education (0-4, 5-8, 9-11, high school graduate, some college, college graduate or more), region where born (south, southern border states, northeast, north central, western, Michigan other than

Detroit, Detroit, foreign born, and Canada), father's occupation (using the nine standard census classifications), welfare status of the respondent (dichotomized as to whether currently on welfare or not), the number of semesters the child had attended his current school, and whether the husband was present or this was a single parent family. Iowa test score constitutes the dependent variable.

It is most instructive for documentation of neighborhood effect that the variable which explained the most variance and the one which first dichotomized the population was school districts and the split which maximized the amount of variance explained was that between the inner and the outer city schools. This split was over one-and-a-half times more effective (1.6) than the next most efficient variable, race; it was almost twice as effective (1.9) as education, slightly over twice as effective as income (2.2) and region of birth (2.2), over two-and-a-half times as effective as occupation (2.6), three-and-a-half times as effective as welfare status (3.5), and five-and-a-half times as effective (5.5) as number of semesters in school. (See Appendix B.)

The split between inner and outer schools is thus considered most powerful and we now ask what is most powerful within these two groups. Within the inner city group the variable which explains most is still another categorization by schools. Thus, four schools (20, 40, 22, 30) were grouped into the lowest category and 8 into the highest category (10, 11, 12, 21, 31, 32, 41, 42) in the inner city. This gave us three distinctive neighborhood school groupings. The one with the highest school achievement scores contains the outer city neighborhood schools. In addition we have two inner city neighborhood sub-groups.

When we looked at the outer city schools, we found that the variable playing the most powerful role was education of the child's mother. However, nearly as important was another neighborhood-school break which had some natural social and geographical bases. Thus two schools (53, 54) were classified together to form the group with the highest school reading achievement. Four schools were grouped together to form the next highest (50, 51, 52, 55). The two schools classified together as the highest were located near each other and at a much greater distance from the four other groups.

Because we wanted to highlight the neighborhood effect we retained the two outer city groups. This gave us four major neighborhood categories--two in the inner city and two in the outer city. The outer city neighborhood grouping with the highest reading scores had two schools in it. The outer city neighborhood grouping with the second highest reading scores had four schools. The inner city schools with the lowest reading achievement scores had four schools in it and the inner city schools with the next to the lowest scores had eight schools in it. Table 4-1 gives a summary of the neighborhood groups which we shall use.

The multiple classification analysis served two purposes. First, and central to our discussion, it suggested that when a neighborhood variable such as elementary school district is compared with eight other fairly strong background characteristics, neighborhood is the most powerful predictor of the child's reading achievement.4/ The second purpose served was to provide an operational definition of neighborhood groups. We shall refer to these groups henceforth as "Neighborhood Achievement Normed" groups.

What are school-neighborhoods as sociological phenomena? Do they really consist of some complex interaction of the above family characteristics? For instance, if our family characteristics had been given a neighborhood measure by utilizing means or proportions for a given area, would the schools have come out as the most powerful variable?

In the remainder of this chapter and in following ones we shall devote our attention to showing what the sociological underpinnings of this classification might be.

Neighborhood Context, Selected Family Characteristics, and Mean Iowa--a Preliminary Consideration

Let us look at neighborhood and family effects using two-variable tables to show the power of neighborhood as compared to family variables usually considered.

First, we examine the effect of mother's education on the child's Iowa score and see to what extent this reduces the neighborhood effects. In this table we have divided mothers into three educational groups--those who did not graduate from high school, those who are high school graduates but no more, and those who had some college or graduated from college.5/ If we examine each column of Table 4-2 we can see that the Iowa score increases the higher the Neighborhood Norm. As a rough measure of the neighborhood effect it can be seen that the poorly educated mothers in the lowest reading normed neighborhood have children with a mean reading achievement of -15.4 (a year-and-a-half below the national average). By contrast, the poorly educated mothers living in the highest normed neighborhoods had children whose mean scores were +0.7. In other words living in the highest outer city neighborhood gave the child a 16.1 month advantage or slightly more than

Table 4-1

Mean Reading Achievement by Schools Selected as Optimal Neighborhood Achievement Groups

Neighborhood Groupings	Mean Reading Score	Range of Mean Reading Scores for Schools	Number of Schools	Number of Families
Inner city: lowest reading achievement schools	-14.7	-15.7 to -13.5	4	345
Inner city: moderately low reading achievement schools	-10.5	-12.0 to -6.7	8	672
Outer city: moderately high reading achievement schools	+0.7	-0.9 to +1.9	4	344
Outer city: highest achievement schools	+7.5	+7.2 to +7.8	2	167

Table 4-2

Mean Reading Score of Child by Mother's Education by Neighborhood Achievement Norm*

	Neighborhood Achievement Norms*	Some High School or Less	High School Degree	Some College or More
Inner	Low	(267) -15.4	(65) -13.3	(13) -6.3
City	Moderately Low	(520) -11.5	(119) -7.8	(33) -4.3
Outer	Moderately High	(151) -3.0	(152) +2.8	(41) +7.0
City	High	(43) +0.7	(89) +7.1	(37) +15.8

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* School Achievement Norm is defined by Mean Iowa for school. See Table 4-1.

a school year and a half. Children with mothers who were high school graduates living in the highest neighborhood had a 20.4 month, or a two year, advantage in reading. Those with mothers who had a college education living in the highest neighborhood had a 22.1 month, or a little more than a two year, advantage.

Using the same rough approximation, it can also be noted that education of the mother plays a role somewhat independent of neighborhood. Thus, in the lowest achievement neighborhood, having a college educated mother gives the child a 9.1 month advantage over those whose mothers did not finish high school. In the second lowest achievement normed neighborhood it gives the child a 7.2 month advantage; in the second highest neighborhood it gives a 10.0 month advantage; and in the highest neighborhood a 15.1 month advantage.

Since the number of categories of the variable affects the magnitude of these differences, we can standardize by dividing by the number of differences in each group, i.e., for educational comparisons this would be two and for neighborhood effect this would be three. If the differences are then averaged, we have an overall comparison between the strength of the two variables. The average gain in reading from the neighborhood is 6.3 whereas the average gain by the educational variable is 5.1.

Race

Let us follow the same procedure for race. Table 4-3 presents the results. As noted earlier, we do not have any Negro families in the two outer city neighborhoods. The difference in reading scores for the white children living in the lowest normed neighborhoods and those living in the highest normed neighborhoods is 20.4 or over two school years. For the Negro population, with only the two inner city neighborhoods, there is a difference of 3.4 months. The equivalent white groups show 3.8 months. Thus neighborhoods seem to have the same kind of effect on Negroes as whites.6/ If we look at race differences, we find that the Negro families are consistently somewhat lower than the white families. In the lowest normed neighborhoods the white families have a 2.3 month advantage over the Negro family; in the next to the lowest group whites have a 2.7 month advantage. If one considers just the inner city neighborhoods, the average neighborhood effect is 3.6 months and the average race effect is 2.5 months. For the total population the neighborhood effect is approximately 6.0 months, over twice the impact of race.

Table 4-3

Mean Reading Score by Race and Neighborhood Achievement Norms

	Neighborhood Achievement Norms	White	Negro
INNER CITY	Low	(66) -12.8	(279) -15.1
	Moderately Low	(291) -9.0	(381) -11.7
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(344) +0.7	(00) --
	High	(169) +7.6	(00) --

Income

Let us now examine the reaction of income and neighborhood to Iowa score. In Table 4-4 we have six categories of income, from less than $2,000 to over $10,000. It can be seen by looking down each column that, with one exception, in the seventeen possible comparisons, the higher the neighborhood norm the better the child does. The income level of the parents does not destroy the direction of the neighborhood effect. If we now examine the effect of income, we see that in only one neighborhood is there any consistent income effect and that is in the better inner city neighborhood.7/ In all others there are unsystematic fluctuations.

Despite this pattern, income may play an important role in defining the neighborhood. This point will be explored in detail later, but inspection of the population figures in Table 4-4 will show that the poorer people are located in the lowest Iowa Normed neighborhoods. The segregation of rich families and poor families might play a role somewhat independently of individual family income. Furthermore, it may turn out that the effects of income will show up when education and race are controlled or when a better measure of income, e.g., per capita, is used. Nevertheless, it is clear that income as a factor is muted if neighborhood is held constant.

Combinations of Family Variables and Neighborhood Effect

We may now examine the combined effects of some of the "family" variables to see how their combination affects the neighborhood. Table 4-5 presents the results for race and education. If we again use the differences between Iowa means as a rough measure of neighborhood effect, we find that for poorly educated whites there is on the average a 4.6 month difference related to neighborhood and for the highly educated whites a 7.0 month difference. Put somewhat differently, there was a year and four months (13.9 months) difference between the poorly educated in the lowest normed neighborhood and in the highest normed neighborhoods. For the high educated whites those living in the highest normed neighborhood had just over a two year advantage (20.9 months). If we examine the increment added by each level of neighborhood, we find again the biggest difference is between the outer and the inner city for both the high and low educated white families.

For the Negro population there are only two neighborhoods to look at and both are in the inner city. The neighborhood effects on the Negro population tend to be slightly muted but they are basically in the same direction as for the white population. The highly educated Negro gains the most from living in a better

Table 4-4

Mean Reading Score of Child by Family Income by Neighborhood Achievement Norm

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Family Income					
		Less 2,000	2,000 to 2,999	3,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 6,999	7,000 to 9,999	10,000 or More
INNER CITY	Low	-14.5 (71)	-16.3 (84)	-13.4 (114)	-15.4 (61)	-10.7 (4)	-16.7 (3)
	Moderately Low	-13.4 (87)	-13.4 (110)	-11.0 (190)	-8.7 (180)	-9.6 (79)	-3.8 (22)
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	+1.1 (8)	+10.7 (13)	-0.5 (27)	-0.5 (117)	-0.9 (121)	+6.0 (54)
	High	-- (0)	+11.8 (5)	-5.3 (12)	+9.2 (37)	+7.5 (67)	+9.6 (44)

Table 4-5

Mean Reading Achievement by Race, Education, and Neighborhood Achievement Norms

	Neighborhood Achievement Norms	White		Negro	
		Low Educated[a]	High Educated[b]	Low Educated[a]	High Educated[b]
INNER CITY	Low	-13.2 (54)	-11.0 (12)	-16.0 (213)	-12.4 (66)
	Moderately Low	-9.7 (250)	-4.8 (41)	-13.3 (270)	-7.9 (111)
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	-3.1 (151)	+3.6 (193)	--- (00)	--- (00)
	High	+0.7 (43)	+9.9 (126)	--- (00)	--- (00)

[a] Low educated = less than a high school degree.

[b] High educated = high school degree or more.

neighborhood--almost half a school year (4.5 months) whereas the poorly educated Negro gains only 2.7 months.

In general, there seems to be an interaction between education and neighborhood. The better educated appear to be able to take more advantage of favorable neighborhood conditions than the poorly educated. One obvious possible explanation is that the better educated, as they move into better neighborhoods, tend to become majority members of that neighborhood, but the poorly educated tend to become minority members when they move into the same neighborhood. If being a minority member causes anxiety, etc., it may dampen the influence of the family unit. Another plausible explanation is that when a well educated person lives in a poor neighborhood this is a sign of some personal or family difficulty. Unless there was some trouble, the educated would be likely to be earning more money and living in a better neighborhood. Families in trouble may be so desperately seeking to meet minimal conditions of continuity that they cannot utilize the educational advantages. Thus a highly educated and a poorly educated family--each with unemployed fathers, working mothers, and both parents psychologically depressed--may have so many problems that the child is basically neglected. However, if these families get on their feet and the mother and father are freed to give attention to the child, then the highly educated family has more to offer in terms of knowledge and assistance for the child.

If we now look at the effects of race and neighborhood on education--using the same rough measure of difference between the highly educated and poorly educated--we see that for both the whites and Negroes the impact of education is greatest in the higher achievement neighborhood. Thus for the white families in the lowest neighborhood having high education yields a 2.2 month advantage, whereas in the highest neighborhood having higher education yields almost a year's advantage (9.2 months). For Negro families the same finding holds. There is a tendency for education to make more of a difference for the Negro than the white family. Better parental education in the lowest neighborhood provides the Negro child with a 3.6 month advantage, and in the better inner city neighborhood it provides a 5.4 month advantage; the comparative figures for whites are 2.2 and 4.9. This finding has been implied in the discussion about the more pronounced effects of neighborhood on highly educated than on poorly educated families. We feel that the explanations for both phenomena are the same.

We can observe that a race difference still appears in Table 4-5. However, it tends to be muted in the lowest income area as compared to the higher one and muted as well for the higher educated as compared to the less educated. On the whole, these differences are generally smaller than the educational or neighborhood effects.8/ What is most interesting about the race differences is that the more whites resemble the traditional Negro minority position in our society, the less evident the differences between white and Negro become. A white family in the poorest neighborhood where it is also in the minority is in the traditional minority low income status of the Negro. To be a highly educated white person in such a neighborhood is to have a double minority group status and hence to face double trouble. This is exactly the group whose children's reading achievement most resembles the Negro families. This may be why race differences appear to have effects similar to those of educational and neighborhood differences. The Negro family in our society is much harder pressed than the white because of prejudice and discrimination. But when white families are in trouble (as indexed by a high educated white family living in a poor neighborhood) they also are not able to utilize their advantages. Both Negro and white families at this level are just doing their best to survive. However, once the white family is on its feet (as indexed by being in a higher income area), it can again utilize its advantages whereas the Negro family does not have such an opportunity.

In summary we can see that neighborhood, race, and education all play a role, and there seems to be an interaction effect among them. The better the circumstances of the family, the more able it is to utilize any social advantage it is given. Thus, better educated families can utilize good neighborhoods more than can poorly educated families. Or, turned around, a well educated family can better maximize its advantage over a poorly educated one in a good neighborhood than it can in a poor neighborhood. A white family can do better than a Negro family in a good than in a bad neighborhood. Where families are depressed below a certain level, where they are faced with problems of just surviving, they cannot utilize their social advantages (education, race, or neighborhood) to the highest degree.

In later chapters on family structure we will be carrying detailed contextual analysis further. All we hope to establish at this point is the importance of matching people on a neighborhood basis before looking at other factors which might affect reading achievement. Since other factors are shown to operate somewhat independently, we shall also maintain race and education matches as the two variables most powerful next to neighborhood. When we come to the discussion of family influences we shall examine in greater detail how the various socio-economic factors relate to family structure and to neighborhood.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to show that when schools are grouped into four categories, these neighborhood categories have impact on the child's reading achievement scores equal to or greater than such traditional background measures as mother's education, race, father's occupation, and income. All these factors tend to operate somewhat independently of each other, but there is some interaction between them. In general, we have attempted to summarize this interaction by saying the more organized the family is the better able it is to utilize its social advantages to educate its child. Thus highly educated people make better use of good neighborhood conditions than poorly educated families and white families benefit more from prejudice in better neighborhoods than in poor neighborhoods.

In the next chapter we shall further explore the role of the neighborhood. First, we shall try to illuminate some of the underlying mechanisms through which neighborhoods operate so as to be sure that the neighborhood is indeed the influential factor and not some artifact of measurement. Secondly, we shall present a more sociological description of neighborhood than we have given up to now. As presently described, neighborhoods are elementary school districts which have been arranged in terms of their power to explain Iowa scores and which in addition have been said to relate to socio-economic characteristics of the family. A more detailed description will be given together with some statements as to which neighborhoods are most powerful.

Footnotes

1. We will not devote any time to the discussion of the conditions under which the kin as a unit can operate more effectively than the neighborhood. We will only suggest that this will be true where relative permanency is crucial. Thus one's long run educational, housing, or occupational choices might be better handled by kin insofar as help is needed since they are more likely to have concomitant long-term interests. For instance, one might feel comfortable about getting a long-term educational or housing loan from a parent or sibling than from a neighbor because of the sense that one will continue to have bonds to the kin under most foreseeable circumstances whereas bonds to the neighbor may disappear.

2. Illustrative in this way is Landy (48) on finding psychological help, Mills (69a) on migration patterns, Whyte (99) on marital problems.

3. Shimon Spiro reported this finding verbally in a conversation in July, 1966. This will presumably be incorporated into his doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan on neighborhood effects on voluntary associations.

4. The R^2 coefficient for all nine variables is .35. The $Beta^2$ for the neighborhood was .26, for education .06, and for occupation, income, and race .01. On this basis we might argue that the neighborhood factor is overwhelmingly powerful as compared to the other "family" variables. However, the $Beta^2$ for any given variable is very much affected by the order it appears in the equation. The first variable not only is given a $Beta^2$ which involves its unique contribution to the explanation of the variance but in addition it has added in all contributions which it makes jointly with other variables. By contrast the next variable has only its unique contribution and all joint contributions that did not include those involved with the first variable, etc. Where in fact the joint contributions is a very substantial part of the overall R^2 this use of the $Beta^2$ to indicate the strength of the variable is deceptive. Therefore we have not included it in the main body of our report.

5. Based on the AID II program developed by Sonquist and Morgan the place optimally to split education was at high school graduate and above vs. less than high school graduate. The program suggested a second possible break at college graduate vs. some college. Since we had so few college graduates in our sample we decided to use the less efficient break of some college or beyond so as to include more cases.

6. Since these are unweighted differences, it is very important to note that there is a very small proportion of whites living in the lowest normed neighborhoods. Furthermore, the overall average effect of the neighborhood on whites is 6.6 months. This is so because the neighborhood increment is not constant. Rather there is a very substantial difference between inner and outer city schools.

7. In the lowest achievement neighborhood the lowest income group has an average Iowa score of -14.5 and the highest income group has an Iowa score of -15.2. (Because of the small number in the last two cells we have averaged the last three income groups together.) In between these two extremes the mean income fluctuates, sometimes higher and sometimes lower. If we examine the outer city neighborhoods, we find a curvilinear relation with the very poor and the very wealthy having higher scores. This is especially the case for the moderately high outer city neighborhood. In the highest outer city neighborhood the number of people in the very poor group is so small that we question the reliability of the finding. If, however, one combines the families with less than 5,000 in one group, the lower outer city neighborhood still shows a curvilinear relation whereas the highest one shows somewhat random fluctuations.

8. This is partly due to the fact that they only involve inner city neighborhoods where all differences are small. Thus it can be seen that in all four cases race differences are 3.6 months or less. For educational categories such a difference are found for two out of six comparisons, and for neighborhood categories for two out of eight comparisons.

Chapter 5

Mechanisms by Which Neighborhood Affects the Child's Behavior

Thus far in our discussion of the neighborhood we have more or less taken the traditional approach of "contextual" analysis. We have not raised the question of the processes by which the neighborhood affects the family or the child. In this chapter we consider some general processes by which the neighborhood may affect the behavior of parents and through them the child. The processes we examine are by no means thought to be exhaustive or mutually exclusive. They can in fact all operate simultaneously.

The mechanisms which we will discuss are called "selective recruitment," "selective expulsion," and "socialization."1/

Selective Recruitment

One of the major structural devices by which the neighborhood shapes the milieu of the individuals in it, is through its intake structure. Groups can be narrowly restrictive of the kind of new members they permit to enter. Warner and Lunt point out that in one community, the very exclusive upper-upper class groups had such a restrictive intake structure that entrance was only by birth.(94) An example of the opposite case is that of Park Forest which Whyte describes.(100) In this neighborhood, the newcomer may still be unpacking when neighbors come to the door to welcome him and offer help.

We include under selective recruitment latent mechanisms, e.g., the price of the house may prevent poor people from moving in without the group having to set up an explicit structure to keep them out. Sometimes these mechanisms are explicit. Neighborhood associations are formed to enforce restrictive covenants, putting pressure on selling to the right people or encouraging real estate agents to use a selective selling policy.

In this sense it is clear that selective recruitment is one of the chief mechanisms by which neighborhoods are kept homogeneous in American communities. One major educational consequence of the homogeneous neighborhood is the systematic prevention of groups such as the Negro from entering higher status neighborhoods. This keeps the children in a neighborhood which has fewer claims on the legitimate sources of power (e.g., the police), which has greater violence, poorer school facilities, school-mates are poorly prepared, etc. Insofar as factors such as these play a role in developing the knowledge and motivational bases most conducive to education, they radically alter the chances of a child going through school. It is thus that the group intake structure, by virtue of excluding given families, can play a very important role in shaping the child's educational milieu.

Socialization

The group intake process may operate by itself or in conjunction with expulsion or socialization processes. Thus the character of the neighborhood can be shaped exclusively by the type of people it lets in, or by the socialization processes within the neighborhood. Whyte, in his discussion of Park Forest, points out that individuals coming into the neighborhood tend to come from a slightly lower strata than those currently in the neighborhood. He points out that one function of the neighborhood is to provide a socialization milieu so that newcomers learn the manners and aspirations of the group they have moved into. This, he argues, is one of the mechanisms by which mobility is maintained without destroying neighborhood cohesion. Newcomb, in his study of a small girls' college, provides even stronger evidence for the way in which groups teach new members established ideas and values. (71) As we pointed out earlier, neighborhoods are very effective where the things to be learned require everyday practice and observation. Modes of disciplining children, forms of rationalization, decisions as to when children are to be given discretion and when kept under rein, the incorporation of vocabularies into everyday life, ways of dealing with bureaucrats who service the local area and who effect the children, are some of the many things where neighborhood milieu might be decisive.

These somewhat obvious ways by which socialization can operate affect the family and therefore affect the child. They may operate independently of selection processes or in conjunction with them. Thus, the fact that people in one neighborhood behave differently from people in another may be completely a function of the group selection processes. These people may have little to do with one another, or they may not even see one another, so that latent socialization is not a factor. Yet they may act as a consistent unit on many issues. For instance, they may flood the school with protests if the school institutes split-day shifts to accommodate an increased population. This consistency of action, however, is not a function of any neighborhood cooperation but simply results from similar educational and occupational statuses of the residents so that they all see the impact of such a school policy in the same way. One major criticism of contextual analysis is that it sometimes implies a socialization mechanism, i.e., that people are in contact with each other, when in fact it may be a pure selection phenomenon which is causing the group behavior.

One way to differentiate between these two processes is to examine the differences between newcomers and long-term residents. If selection is the major factor at work, the newcomers and the long-term residents should be closely matched on the attribute being studied. If socialization is the major factor, there should be differences between the newcomers and the long-term members of the group. If both processes are operating simultaneously, the same trend should occur but be much muted. Though this is far from a perfect way of isolating the two mechanisms,2/ it still provides some basis for separating selection and socialization.

Selective Expulsion

Selective recruitment and socialization might work in conjunction with selective expulsion. Thus a group may have a relatively open intake structure but apply very stringent expulsion rules. This is typical of organizations which are committed to equality and democracy, such as schools. Everybody can go to school which is, in fact, mandatory in the United States. But the school has fairly stringent expulsion policies. Certain performance and behavior levels must be maintained or the child will be expelled. Public housing facilities in many cities have a similar character: they welcome all, provided they meet the income requirements; however, if a resident is involved in deviant behavior, he is likely to be put out. In general the lower the status of the neighborhood in our society, the more likely the group will use selective expulsion rather than selective recruitment as the chief device for pruning and shaping the group.

There is one notable exception. People who are upwardly mobile may decide that their neighbors no longer provide a suitable milieu and, therefore, they may seek to isolate themselves in anticipation of leaving. This type of behavior will be called "self selective expulsion." Merton and Kitt in their discussion of anticipatory socialization suggest that self expulsion and group expulsion may go hand in hand.(69)

From a sociological point of view it probably makes a great deal of difference which of these two mechanisms--recruitment or expulsion--is used by the group. For instance, the selective recruitment mechanism is likely to safeguard the current group norms better than the selective expulsion mechanism. Furthermore, the processes of adjudicating eligibility to the group are much different. Selective recruitment must generally rely on demographic characteristics or other relatively public modes of judging the individual while selective expulsion can rely on much more personal information, e.g., evaluations of how the individual acts in the group. In some ways this is a much more equitable process for the individual, if not for the group.

Where processes of selective expulsion operate, one will also find a difference in the neighborhood between newcomers and old-time residents, but this will not be related to socialization. Therefore any attempt to differentiate between selective recruitment and socialization by analysis of newcomers vs. long-term residents must in some way take account of the problem of selective expulsion.

The relationship between selective expulsion, socialization, and recruitment is very important in shaping the educational processes in the low-income neighborhoods of large cities. For the white population living in a deprived area and seeking a better education for their children, the anticipatory socialization would suggest utilizing a self-expulsion mechanism (e.g., keeping isolated from neighbors while preparing to move from the neighborhood). By contrast, the Negro parent who is educationally motivated has (because of selective recruitment) less option to move. Therefore, in contrast to the white parent, he may have to affect the school directly if he is to improve the education of his child. One way to do this is by pressing the school to isolate and expel deviant children and parents from the school. This has been seen in the tendency for school organizations, such as the parent-teacher association, to be taken over by a small clique of parents who freeze out the "undesirables." Thus for the white groups in low income areas the expulsion processes may operate to eliminate the educationally motivated families , while in the Negro groups the expulsion processes may operate to keep the highly motivated and to eliminate the deviant members. What we are saying is that the expulsion processes are in part shaped by the selective recruitment possibilities and that these problems of group structure may have a very important bearing on the educational milieu of the child.

In summary, we have discussed three generic processes by which the neighborhood group can influence the family--the processes of selective recruitment, socialization, and selective expulsion. These are not exhaustive or exclusive, but they are important. In this chapter we will look at these processes so as to provide further evidence of the import of the neighborhood. The specific content of these processes cannot be discussed in detail until we investigate further the role of the family.

Neighborhood Reading Norms and Newcomers Vs. Old-Timers

We now turn to preliminary data that bear most directly on these issues. For this analysis, it is important to be able to designate the neighborhood norm for each neighborhood. The norm we will be using has to do with reading achievement. Do some neighborhoods encourage it and some discourage it? We have previously classified the schools in our sample into four groups ranging from those with the highest mean reading achievement scores to those with the lowest. In the lowest normed group the mean reading achievement score was almost one and a half years below the national average (-14.7 months); in the next lowest it was about one year below the national average (-10.5 months); in the next to the highest it was about at the national average (+0.7 months); and in the highest group it was almost a full year ahead of the national average (+7.5 months). If the neighborhood context plays a role, then there are pressures in the highest neighborhood group on the child to do well in reading, while in the lowest group less pressure is applied to read well. These neighborhood pressures should operate through the three mechanisms suggested above if they are to have any impact.

Let us first examine the differences between the newcomers and the long-term residents. The newcomers were defined as families living in the neighborhood less than a year.[3/] This led to a very skewed distribution and meant we were testing our hypothesis with very extreme cases. If the newcomers in low normed neighborhoods have lower reading skills than those in high normed neighborhoods, or if newcomers in a given neighborhood have the same scores as long-term residents, we can speak of recruitment mechanisms operating. If the long-term residents of the low normed neighborhood have children who do worse than those who just moved in, or if the long-term residents in the high normed neighborhoods have children who do better than those from new families, we can speak of socialization or selective expulsion. The data appear in Table 5-1.

If we examine the neighborhood with the lowest norm in Table 5-1, we see that the longer families are in the neighborhood the worse the child does (-12.8 for newcomers and -14.6 for long-term residents). By contrast, if we look at the neighborhood with the highest norm, the longer the family is in the neighborhood the better the child does (-7.5 for the newcomers and +7.0 for the long-term residents). Unfortunately the number of cases of newcomers is so small we cannot place confidence in any specific difference but only in the overall pattern of the table. There is a trend for the long-term neighborhood resident to conform to the norms of the group in which he lives. This constitutes some

Table 5-1

Mean Reading Achievement by Length of Residence by Neighborhood Achievement Norm

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Length of Residence		Total
		Less Than One Year	One Year Or More	
INNER CITY	Low	(15) -12.8	(330) -14.6	(345) -14.7
	Moderately Low	(69) -13.4	(603) -10.2	(672) -10.5
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(18) -0.3	(326) +0.7	(344) +0.7
	High	(4) -7.5	(165) +7.0	(169) +7.5

evidence that socialization or expulsion mechanisms are operating.

If one looks down the first column of Table 5-1, the idea of selective recruitment can be examined in more detail. There is a definite tendency for outer city neighborhoods to recruit better students than inner city neighborhoods. This is probably a function of the fact that the outer city schools recruit children from other outer city schools and, similarly, inner city schools probably recruit from inner city schools. However, recruitment is not consistently related to the level of the reading norm. Within inner and outer city areas, the higher the neighborhood norm, the lower the mean reading scores for newcomers. Thus, within the inner city the mean Iowa score for the new students in the low group is -12.8 whenever the mean for the moderately low group is -13.4.

Fourth Grade Iowa Scores

A more precise way of looking at the possibility of recruitment is to examine the fourth grade Iowa scores of the newcomers, scores made before the newcomers moved into the neighborhoods. On examination, we note that there are virtually no differences in fourth grade Iowa scores between the two neighborhoods in the inner city (-5.0 and -5.0) or the two in the outer city (+1.7 and +2.0), but there are differences between the inner and outer city neighborhoods. The differences, therefore, within the outer or within the inner city cannot be accounted for by selective recruiting; socialization or selective expulsion must be taking place. However, differences between the outer and inner city neighborhoods appear to be explained at least in part by selection and socialization.

Plans to Move Vs. Stay

For long-term residents the question still arises, "Are those opposed to the group norm systematically expelled or are they changed?" We have no direct measure but we have some indirect measures of this. We asked the mothers, "Do you expect to move out of this neighborhood within the next year, within three years, within five years, longer than that, or don't you ever expect to move?" We suggest that those who say they are going to move should least reflect the norm of the neighborhood. This item is not a perfect index of an expulsion mechanism because people may move for reasons unrelated to their neighborhood, e.g., illness. Therefore, we do not expect the relationship to be a strong one. We can see the results of this analysis in Table 5-2 for long-term residents who are the ones primarily affected by selective expulsion.

Table 5-2

Mean Reading Achievement by Plans to Move by Neighborhood Achievement Norms (for Long-Term Residents)

	Neighborhood Achievement Norms	Move In One Year	Move in a Few Years, Or Don't Intend to Move	Difference Between Mover and Others
INNER CITY	Low	(82) -14.2	(248) -14.9	+0.7
	Moderately Low	(141) -11.2	(435) -9.8	-1.4
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(29) +4.5	(297) -0.4	+5.0
	High	(15) +4.3	(150) +8.2	-3.9

If some form of selective expulsion is taking place, we should find the people who intend to leave within a year to be most distant from the group norms. In the lowest neighborhood this should be families of the children who are doing the best; in the highest neighborhoods it should be of those who are doing the worst. If we examine the lowest neighborhood, we find that those planning to move within the year have children who tend to do slightly better on the Iowa score (-14.2 as compared to others' -14.9). By contrast, if we look at the highest neighborhood we find that families planning to move soon have children with worse reading scores (+4.3) than those not moving soon (+8.2). Thus, these extreme groups are consistent with the idea of selective expulsion.

If we look at the moderately low neighborhood we see that those intending to move in a year have children who read worse than others (-11.2 vs. -9.8). The difference between children whose parents intend to move and others falls neatly between the differences for children in the low achievement neighborhoods and those in the high neighborhoods. This is the pattern which should occur if (1) selective expulsion is operating and if (2) neighborhoods have systematic differences in their stress on education.

When we look at the moderately high neighborhoods we find the families most inclined to move have children who do better than those who intend to stay (+4.5 vs. -0.4). This is inconsistent with the idea of selective expulsion as we have thus far outlined it. The moderately high neighborhoods should have a positive stress on education, and families intending to leave should have children who do worse, not better, if there is an expulsion process operating. To anticipate later analysis, we should note that the moderately high group deviates from the pattern of the other three groups on almost all predictions. Therefore, we do not view this particular finding as a statistical error. We treat it as indicative of other neighborhood processes which we will try to clarify later in this chapter. At this point let it suffice to say that in three out of the four neighborhood groupings there is some evidence for a neighborhood expulsion mechanism. The people intending to leave the neighborhood have children who are farthest from the neighborhood norm on reading achievement.

This finding cannot rule out the possibility of socialization occurring in the neighborhood effect. In the inner city particularly, the difference between those who intend to move soon and those who do not is relatively small. It seems likely that the processes of both socialization and selective expulsion occur simultaneously.

Contact with Neighbors

One check on the socialization process is to see if families involved with their neighbors have children closer to the norm of the neighborhood than families not so involved. It is assumed that the more individuals interact with neighbors, the more likely they are to be socialized by them. We asked the respondents, "How many of your neighbors on this block do you know well enough that you are likely to spend half an hour or so with them now and then?" Contact is generally a necessary condition of socialization though it is not sufficient. With this in mind we can look at Table 5-3.

We again analyze the results for long-term residents only since they are least subject to selective recruitment. For the extreme groups, the data do suggest that socialization is occurring. For the group with the lowest neighborhood Iowa norms the more isolated the respondent is from her neighbors, the better her child will do (-13.3 vs. -14.7 for those in contact with more than one neighbor). For the other extreme where the neighborhood has a high norm, just the opposite takes place: the more isolated the respondent from her neighbors the worse the child does (+1.8 as compared to +9.0). The same trend holds for the moderately low neighborhood, but for the moderately high neighborhood we have a different picture. Here the process seems to be working in reverse. Again, the moderately high group deviates from the rest and we reserve interpretation until we can bring more information to bear. For three of the four neighborhood groups, there seems to be a socializing effect on this measure.

Neighbors in Organizations

Another possible measure of socialization is an item asking the respondent how many organizations she belongs to where she meets her neighbors. The assumption is that the more neighbors she contacts, the more likely she is to be influenced by their norms. This measure is similar to the prior one. Table 5-4 shows the result for long-term residents.

If we examine the extreme neighborhoods--those which stress low Iowa norms vs. those which stress high--and we take the extreme categories, we can see that in general for both neighborhoods the more one belongs to organizations the higher the Iowa score.4/ At first glance it would seem that there is no neighborhood effect. However, if one examines the nagnitude of the differences, they go in the direction anticipated. Thus, in the low norm neighborhood, belonging to one or more neighborhood organizations produces an increase in Iowa score of 0.5 months, where in the high norm neighborhood belonging to a neighborhood organization

Table 5-3

Mean Reading Achievement by Neighborhood Achievement Norm (by Number of Neighbors Known) (for Long-Term Residents)

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	No Contact with Neighbors	Contact with One Neighbor	Contact with More than One Neighbor
INNER CITY	Low	(44) -13.3	(182) -15.2	(104) -14.7
	Moderately Low	(141) -10.7	(275) -10.7	(187) - 9.1
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(36) + 2.4	(99) - 0.7	(191) + 1.2
	High	(8) + 1.8	(47) + 6.4	(110) + 9.0

Table 5-4

Mean Reading Achievement by Neighborhood Achievement Norm by Number of Organizations Where Respondent Meets Neighbors (for Long-Term Residents)

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Belongs to No Organizations or Belongs to None Where Neighbors Belong	Belongs to One or More Organizations Where Neighbors Belong	Difference in Mean Reading Between Columns 1 and 2
INNER CITY	Low	(168) -15.0	(162) -14.5	0.5
	Moderately Low	(295) -11.0	(305) -9.2	1.8
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(106) -1.0	(220) +1.6	2.6
	High	(26) +3.7	(139) +8.7	5.0

produces an increase of 5.0 months.

Thus, having contact with neighbors, relatively speaking, causes the children to adhere to neighborhood norms, e.g., improved the child's reading skill in the high norm neighborhood while having no effect in the low norm neighborhood.

We think that the results are relative because belonging to organizations reflects something more than neighborhood norms. It frequently reflects qualitative differences in families as well. The more educated families or the higher income families might have more resources and more knowledge about belonging to neighborhood organizations. Or the families interested in education in the inner city might belong to neighborhood organizations. These factors might relate positively to the child's education and would appear in the present analysis. In the case of the high norm neighborhoods they would reinforce neighborhood norms, while in the case of the lower norm neighborhoods they would go in the opposite direction. This may be why we get only minor differences in the inner city and major ones in the outer city.

Thus far in our analysis we have used as indices of socialization measures of neighborhood contact which were derived by aggregating the individual's self report of his own contact. The assumption was made that if an individual was in contact with his neighbors, his neighbors would probably also be in contact with each other. If an individual was the gregarious person on a given block but others were not, then it would be erroneous to assume the neighborhood was highly interactive. Or, in the reverse circumstances, our respondent might have no contact with his neighbors, but neighbors might be in contact with one another. In this circumstance, the child and our respondent might nevertheless feel the pressure of this cohesive neighborhood.

Help Pattern of Neighborhood

In order to meet this problem a different measure of neighborhood cohesion was used. We treated the respondent as an informant and asked her the following question:

> I'm going to mention some ways in which neighbors might help each other and I want you to tell me how many of your neighbors might help each other in these situations. First of all, how about agreeing to keep an eye on what's going on whenever young children are playing outside . . . would you say that most of your neighbors, about half, or a few, or none of them are almost certain to help in this way?

A substantial majority said that most neighbors would watch others' children, so we dichotomized the responses at this point and Table 5-5 presents the results for the long-term resident. The same relationship between this measure of neighborhood cohesion and Iowa score of the child holds generally here. When the respondent reported a less cohesive low normed neighborhood, his child did better than the child in families where more cohesion was reported. By contrast, in the high normed neighborhood the child did less well if he lived in an area reported as less cohesive, and better when it was more cohesive.

The two neighborhood groups between the extremes behave in the same manner as with our other measures of neighborhood cohesion. The moderately low neighborhood supports an explanation that socialization is occurring but the moderately high group shows ambiguous results.

The same pattern has now recurred with three different measures. The fact that the hypothesis of socialization has been supported with these measures indicates it has sufficient merit to warrant further consideration. For the same reason the deviation of the moderately high neighborhood should be explored.

In our introductory statements on neighborhood contact we made the point that contact generally was a prerequisite for group socialization. We say "generally" because in at least one circumstance face-to-face contact may not be a necessary condition. Where an individual has a positive reference orientation toward a neighborhood he may be affected by its norms even though he is in minimal face-to-face contact with its members. To be sure, he will have some kind of a contact, through newspapers or other forms of mass media, by hearing about the neighborhood indirectly at his work place, or through some intermediary who has contact with the neighborhood (e.g., a friend who lives in the desired neighborhood but who is not a neighbor of the respondent, etc.).

Turned around, the point may be made that people in contact with their neighbors might not be influenced by them if they view them negatively. It might be argued that all of our previous discussion on neighborhood interaction and cohesion presupposes that the people in contact have positive orientations toward each other.

We have chosen to treat contact and reference orientation as separate factors since it is an unsettled empirical issue as to how much socialization takes place without the awareness of the individual. An individual completely surrounded and living with a group he does not admire might still be influenced in many ways by them. For many things there are no absolute standards and the

Table 5-5

Mean Reading Achievement by Achievement Normed Neighborhood, by Neighbors Watch Children (For Long-Tern Residents)

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	None to Half Will Watch Children*	Most Will Watch Children	Difference Between Cols. 1 & 2
INNER CITY	Low	(169) -13.8	(140) -15.9	-2.1
	Moderately Low	(313) -10.4	(254) -9.9	+0.5
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(114) +1.0	(199) +0.8	-0.2
	High	(56) +5.8	(106) +8.3	+2.5

---

* Those who answered don't know in this and following tables are not included unless specifically stated.

only standard a person can judge by is the group within which he lives. Even if he dislikes them and tries to be different, his behavior may still be closer to theirs than if he had lived among people who share his orientation completely. Thus, with respect to education, a parent might not share his neighbors' views but his only standard for evaluating his child is to judge him relative to his school-mates, i.e., on report cards. As a consequence a parent might falsely assume his child is a good reader because relative to his very poor peers he does well.

It seems sensible to suggest that people who interact with neighbors and are positive toward them are likely to be influenced by them in more varied areas of life and to a different degree than those who interact and are negatively oriented toward their neighborhood. It might be argued that positive reference orientation is a semi-independent measure of neighborhood influence and might relate in a more straightforward manner to neighborhood norms than do simple contact measures.

View of Friendly Neighborhood

In order to measure reference orientation toward neighbors, we asked the following question:

> How many of the following people live in this neighborhood?
> (A series of items followed which included the following:)
>
> People who go out of their way to be friendly?
> a. Many
> b. Some
> c. None
> d. Don't know

Most of the respondents answered "some." We examine the extreme category--those who answered that no neighbors were friendly--in Table 5-6 for long-term residents. We can see that reference orientation relates to the reading achievement of the child in such a way as to support the hypothesis of neighborhood socialization. In the low normed neighborhood the more positively the respondent viewed his neighbors the lower his child's reading score. Assuming that the low norm neighborhood discourages achievement of the child, a parent who identifies with it will be more subject to its influence and will therefore have children who do poorly. By contrast, in the highest normed neighborhood we find that those who viewed their neighborhood positively are likely to have children who read best. The same mechanism of identification leads to opposite results because in one case the neighborhood has a norm of high achievement and in the other a low

Table 5-6

Reading Achievement by Achievement Normed Neighborhood by Neighbor Friendly (Long-Term Residents Only)

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	No Neighbor Friendly	Some or Many Friendly
INNER CITY	Low	(68) -13.3	(254) -15.2
	Moderately Low	(100) -11.1	(463) -9.8
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(21) +0.6	(301) +0.8
	High	(13) +2.9	(151) +8.1

norm. The two intermediate neighborhood groups roughly follow the same pattern. This time the moderately high neighborhood goes in the direction anticipated by the hypothesis, but relatively speaking it is still deviant.5/

Contact and Friendliness

It is of some interest to examine the relationship between reference orientation and contact. If socialization processes are taking place, we would expect some association between these measures. Either people who like their neighbors would have greater contact with them, of greater contact would lead to positive feelings.6/ We can see from Table 5-7 that this tends to be the case. Where a respondent is an isolate (has no contact with any neighbors) she is more likely to say the neighbors are unfriendly than if she has contact. Using as a base for an index of association the per cent of the total possible saying neighbors are friendly,7/ we find that in the low neighborhood the association is 37 per cent, for the moderately low it is 64 per cent, for the moderately high it is 80 per cent, and for the high it is 90 per cent (on only eight cases). In other words, the relationship becomes stronger the higher the socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhood. The further fact that association increases with the socio-economic level of the neighborhood also is to be noted.

Friendliness, Contact, and Reading Score

We may see in Table 5-8 how these two elements--contact and reference orientation--affect the reading skills of the child. The socialization hypothesis is borne out for the extreme groups. The number of cases in some cells is so small that the results can only be illustrative. If respondents reporting no contact with their neighbors and no friendly neighbors are compared with those who report contact and friendly neighbors, it can be seen in the low normed area that the isolated negatively oriented respondents had children who did better than those of the positively oriented and integrated families (-8.9 vs. -15.2). In the highest neighborhood, children in families that were isolated and negatively oriented did more poorly than those in integrated and positively oriented families (+1.3 vs. +8.3). The intermediate neighborhood groups fall between the two extremes as they should if socialization is operative in the neighborhood.8/

We have now discussed three measures of contact and one measure of reference orientation and find they are all very consistent with the idea of neighborhood socialization. Even the negative case tends to be consistently negative on each measure, suggesting some underlying factor rather than just random error.

Table 5-7

Per Cent Saying No Neighbor Friendly, by Achievement Normed Neighborhood, by Contact with Neighbors (For Long-Term Residents)

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	No Contact With Neighbors	Contact With Neighbors
INNER CITY	Low	(42) 30	(280) 19
	Moderately Low	(127) 34	(436) 12
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(35) 20	(287) 4
	High	(8) 50	(156) 5

Table 5-8

Reading Achievement by Length of Residence, by Achievement Normed Neighborhood, Neighbors Friendly, Contact with Neighbors (For Long-Term Residents)

		No Neighbors Friendly		One or More Friendly	
	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	No Contact with Neighbors	Contact with Neighbors	No Contact with Neighbors	Contact with Neighbors
INNER CITY	Low	(13) - 8.9	(55) -14.3	(29) -15.4	(225) -15.2
	Moderately Low	(44) -12.3	(56) -10.2	(83) - 9.4	(370) - 9.9
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(7) - 3.6	(14) + 2.6	(28) + 3.9	(273) + 0.4
	High	(4) + 1.3	(9) + 3.6	(4) + 2.3	(147) + 8.3

Race and Education as Factors in Selective Expulsion and Socialization

Consideration of the race and education of the respondent permits a further refinement in the analysis of the underlying mechanisms of socialization and expulsion. The educational aspirations and sophistication of the families involved may very much affect which mechanisms operate. It is likely, for instance, that persons with more education will have higher educational aspirations than those not as well educated and they may also have higher standards for what is educationally adequate. In addition, they may have more economic ability to move into new neighborhoods. If this is true, and other things are equal, we may expect such persons to move to more satisfactory neighborhoods. This is what we have called the mechanism of self-expulsion.

What does this mean in terms of our analysis? It would suggest that the highly educated person who is well motivated and who has financial resources and who is very interested in his child's education might plan to move from all of our neighborhoods (even the high normed ones). It will be recalled that we did not include the suburbs of Detroit, which have the highest income and professional groups. Therefore, we should expect to find in all our school districts families who would seek to move to better neighborhoods. If these assumptions are correct, our prior findings on self-selective expulsion (i.e., movement of the more deviant from the neighborhood) should be more evident for less educated than for highly educated families.

Considering the socialization hypothesis, the highly educated with strong aspirations may isolate his family from neighbors who are thought to be of insufficient educational stature to help his child. Thus, our predictions about high contact people adhering to neighborhood norms should hold best for the poorly educated people rather than the highly educated people.

The assumption we are making is not only one of aspirations, but means to move. Education is related to economic status of the family. A poor family with high educational aspirations may not have the resources to move into a higher economic area and therefore must try to affect the current neighborhood rather than plan to move again. We would hypothesize that such a family would seek to affect the neighborhood so as to insulate it from those not similarly oriented. The poorly educated parent is more likely to accept all but the worst neighborhoods as educationally satisfactory and to associate with them. The highly educated, because they can move, are more likely to use mechanisms which isolate them from his neighbors.

We are not saying that the educated would not act just as the uneducated does once the former feel he cannot move. We can use the variable of race to gain insight into this issue. The highly educated Negro family may have educational aspirations equal to or greater than the white. However, because of prejudice Negroes systematically have fewer resources than the white, and have much more restricted housing opportunities even if they had the means to move. In the case of the highly educated Negro family we have a counterpoise to the highly educated white family: both have equal aspirations but the one can express them by moving whereas the other cannot. This permits us to examine the differential use of expulsion or socialization techniques as a function of limited opportunities.

We would expect the highly educated Negro to condlude that he is limited and that he should therefore join with like-minded of his neighborhood to enhance his school. Therefore, we should see some systematic differences between Negro and white highly educated families. In the case of the Negro, the highly aspiring families with educational interest will integrate into very poor neighborhoods, whereas similar white families will not.

Education, Race, and Contact with Neighbors

With this analysis in mind, let us examine neighborhood contact again. If we look at the lower educated whites in the low normed neighborhood I (in Table 5-9), we find that our hypothesis is almost perfectly met: the people whose children do the best on reading achievement are those who are isolated (-9.3), whereas the ones who do the worst have more contacts (-13.9). As we move up to the next neighborhood level there is virtually no difference in achievement of the children of parents who are integrated and those who are isolated. But as one moves up to the next level and the highest level there is a trend for those who are most integrated in the neighborhood to do better. The population base for the isolated families is very small but the pattern is consistent.

For the highly educated whites there are no isolated families in the low income area, Neighborhood I. The other areas follow the trend seen in prior tables. The moderately high neighborhood does not conform to the socialization prediction but the high and moderately low neighborhoods do. It is clear that the deviation in our predictions for Neighborhood III seem to come from the high education isolates.

If we examine the Negro population, we find that for the low education families in our sample the socialization predictions

Table 5-9

Reading Achievement by Education, Race, Neighborhood Achievement Norm, Number of Neighbors Known

Neighborhood Achievement Norn	White		Negro	
	No Contact	Contact with Neighbors	No Contact	Contact with Neighbors
Low Education				
Low	(9) - 9.3	(45) -13.9	(30) -14.2	(171) -16.5
Moderately Low	(74) - 9.6	(162) - 9.7	(47) -13.7	(182) -12.8
Moderately High	(21) - 3.9	(121) - 2.9	(0) ---	(0) ---
High	(2) + 1.0	(37) + 1.6	(0) ---	(0) ---
High Education				
Low	(0) ---	(11) -11.8	(5) -14.8	(59) -12.1
Moderately Low	(9) - 5.7	(31) - 4.7	(11) - 9.0	(86) - 6.7
Moderately High	(15) +11.2	(170) + 3.0	(0) ---	(0) ---
High	(6) + 2.0	(120) +10.3	(0) ---	(0) ---

work out. The people who do best in the low reading norm neighborhoods are the isolates while those who do best in the moderately low one are in contact with neighbors. It can be seen that the moderately low normed neighborhood for Negroes is similar to the moderately high or high neighborhoods for whites. For the educated Negro, the hypothesis only partially works out. In the moderately low neighborhood, the more contacts the parents have the better the child does, and this holds also in the low normed one. It could be that the highly educated Negro families form small enclaves in the low normed neighborhood. Though the number of cases on which this figure is based is very small, we think that it possibly represents a true situation because it is consistent with the next table on plans to move, which has a somewhat larger base.

Education, Race, & Plans to Move

We can look now at the respondent's intention to move, a direct indication of self-selective process for a neighborhood. If we look at Table 5-10 we can see that the scores of children of those of low education who are planning to move are relatively farthest from the neighborhood norm as anticipated, except for whites in the moderately high neighborhood.

The results for high educated whites are instructive. The more the high education white intends to move the better the child's score. An exception occurs for the high normed neighborhood. This finding fits an interpretation for the more educated as possibly more ambitious for their children than their neighbors and more likely to have funds to move.

Family resources and aspirations appear to interact with neighborhood milieu so as to cause the family to exhibit self-selective expulsion or, alternatively, socialization. This interpretation receives further support from the findings in Table 5-10 for the high education Negro family. We have reasoned that the highly educated Negro should behave differently from the highly educated white because they have different potentials for moving. The child in the high education Negro family scores higher when the respondent indicates less intention to move. The Negro family rejects self-expulsion mechanism, whereas white rejects socialization.

It is useful to expand the definition of moving by including with those who intend to move those who say they are undecided about moving. The undecided will include--among others--respondents who would like to move but do not know whether they can afford to. Including these respondents is likely to increase the number of people with reservations about the neighborhood but who

Table 5-10

Reading Achievement by Education, Race, Neighborhood Achievement Norm, Plans to Move

Low Education

Neighborhood Achievement Norn	White		Negro	
	Move This Year	Not Move or Move Later	Move This Year	Not move or Move Later
Low	(13) -13.5	(41) -13.1	(46) -14.9	(155) -16.5
Moderately Low	(86) -11.4	(150) - 8.7	(48) -13.6	(182) -12.8
Moderately High	(9) + 0.1	(135) - 3.4	(0) ---	(0) ---
High	(2) -18.0	(37) + 2.6	(0) ---	(0) ---

High Education

	White		Negro	
Low	(2) - 8.0	(9) -12.6	(21) -13.6	(44) -11.7
Moderately Low	(14) - 3.7	(26) - 5.6	(20) - 9.8	(77) - 6.2
Moderately High	(20) + 6.5	(165) + 3.4	(0) ---	(0) ---
High	(13) + 7.8	(113) +10.1	(0) ---	(0) ---

are unable to move. Table 5-11 presents the results. The low educated respondents living in the low normed neighborhood who plans to or may move have children who score better than children whose families intend to stay. In the high normed neighborhood, the low education group who intend to stay tend to do better than the group who intend to leave.

By contrast, for the highly educated white those who intend to move or are uncertain do better than those who intend to stay in all neighborhoods. If we argue that for the high educated white family mobility generally is associated with improvement whereas for the low educated this is true only in the poorest neighborhood, then the above finding makes sense. The same explanation also makes sense for the high educated Negroes. For them mobility may be less associated with success than with failure and as a consequence their responses are the opposite to the high educated whites.

Education, Race, and Friendly Neighbors

We can carry this analysis one step further by using a measure of reference orientation. This will permit us to unravel the mystery of the "deviant" neighborhood. It will be recalled that the item on having friendly neighbors resulted in findings somewhat overlapping with the item on contact with neighbors. This overlap was greater in the outer city neighborhoods than in the inner city. We suggested that reference orientation might be somewhat independent of contact in its influence on the child's reading score.

If we examine reference orientation by race and education we find the same results as before these variables were controlled. (See Table 5-12.) Thus, for the low educated white those who take a positive orientation toward the low normed neighborhood (i.e., have "friendly" neighbors) do worse than those who take a negative orientation. In the high normed neighborhood just the opposite occurs (though again the population base is too small to provide evidence). The middle neighborhood groups fall between except for the moderately high group where those who say their neighbors are not friendly do better. For the high education whites, the same results obtain, except that the moderately high neighborhood does not deviate. (We again present the data as illustrative because the population bases are so small.)

For the low education Negroes, the findings are consistent with the prior findings on socialization. However, for the highly educated Negro we find a complete reversal. Those in the low neighborhood who take a positive orientation do better whereas

Table 5-11

Reading Achievement by Education, Race, Time in Neighborhood, Neighborhood Achievement Norm, Plans to Move, Including the Undecided

	Low Education			
	White		Negro	
Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Move This Year or Undecided	Not Move Or Move Later	Move This Year or Undecided	Not Move Or Move Later
Low	(21) -11.4	(33) -14.5	(86) -15.0	(115) -17.0
Moderately Low	(124) -10.3	(112) - 9.3	(75) -13.2	(155) -12.9
Moderately High	(22) - 1.0	(122) - 3.4	(0) ---	(0) ---
High	(4) - 6.2	(33) + 2.9	(0) ---	(0) ---
	High Education			
Low	(8) - 8.1	(6) -14.8	(28) -13.8	(36) -11.1
Moderately Low	(21) - 2.8	(19) - 7.3	(27) - 8.7	(70) - 6.3
Moderately High	(39) + 7.1	(146) + 2.8	(0) ---	(0) ---
High	(28) +13.2	(98) + 8.8	(0) ---	(0) ---

Table 5-12

Reading Achievement by Race, Education Neighborhood Achievement Norms, Neighbors Friendly (For Long-Term Residents)

Low Education

	White		Negro	
Neighborhood Achievement Norm	No Neighbor Friendly	Some or More Friendly	No Neighbor Friendly	Some or More Friendly
Low	(13) - 6.1	(41) -15.4	(42) -15.9	(159) -16.2
Moderately Low	(46) -10.3	(190) - 9.3	(39) -14.8	(191) -12.6
Moderately High	(12) - 1.42	(130) - 3.2	(0) ---	(0) ---
High	(3) - 0.7	(36) + 1.8	(0) ---	(0) ---

High Education

Low	(3) - 8.3	(8) -13.1	(10) -13.5	(54) -12.0
Moderately Low	(6) - 1.0	(34) - 5.6	(9) - 5.4	(88) - 7.1
Moderately High	(9) + 3.2	(176) + 3.7	(0) ---	(0) ---
High	(10) + 3.9	(116) +10.4	(0) ---	(0) ---

those in the moderately low neighborhood who take a positive orientation do worse. This is not consistent with the findings on contact where the more highly educated who had contact did better than those who did not have contact.

The Moderately High Area

There may be a common explanation of the results for the high education Negro in the moderately low area and the results found in the moderately high outer city white neighborhoods that have consistently deviated from the general trends we have been examining. The moderately low inner city neighborhood is the one most likely to have a mixture of white and Negro in the same school district. In the low normed neighborhood there are three schools with 95 per cent Negro students and one with 75 per cent white students. In the moderately high neighborhoods there are two schools with almost a 50-50 split between Negroes and whites, one school with over 90 per cent whites, two schools with approximately 75 per cent white, and three schools with over 90 per cent Negro. In other words, there are relatively more mixed schools in the moderately high neighborhoods.

Since the predominantly white areas tend to be higher on the socio-economic scale and to show higher reading achievement norms than the Negro areas, it is quite conceivable that Negro children living in such mixed areas may do well in school but have parents who do not see their neighbors as very friendly. However, most Negroes live in segregated areas which have lower reading norms but where they can consider their neighbors friendly. In addition, the Negro family that pioneers in a white neighborhood may have better education and jobs, and higher status aspiration than the Negro family in all Negro areas.

To bring this line of speculation to bear on the findings for the moderately high white neighborhood, we would suggest that there may be a special situation operating there. This neighborhood differs considerably from the high normed neighborhood in terms of ethnic makeup. Comparatively, there are substantial subpopulations of Italian and German groups not found in the high neighborhood. (See Table 5-13.) Furthermore, the Italian and Polish sub-groups are comparative newcomers in both areas, generally having moved recently from the inner city. They are often viewed by the older residents of outer city areas in terms of ethnic status not greatly higher than the Negroes. Like other pioneering families in urban mobility, the first Italian and Polish families may be better educated and have higher educations aspirations for their children. Thus, when these sub-groups move into the neighborhoods their presence will raise achievement norms

Table 5-13

Per Cent of Both Ethnic Origin and Religion of Families in Two Outer City Areas

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Ethnic Origin							
	British	German	Polish	Italian	Other W. & Cent. Eurp'n.	Other E. & Cent. Eurp'n.	Other PK	Pop.
Moderately High	22	21	11	13	17	07	08	(345) 99%
High	31	13	10	04	19	18	05	(170) 100%

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Religion					
	Catholic	Jewish	Prot.	Other	None	Pop.
Moderately High	41	00	51	7	1	(345) 100
High	14	18	62	4	1	(170) 100

for children. However, they are also likely to feel hostility from their neighbors, and to report their neighbors less friendly; they are likely to interact less with their neighbors; they are more likely to say they are considering a move from the neighborhood. The latter responses are probably a matter of timing.

We have some evidence that bears on these speculations. Let us first examine the question of Negroes living in white neighborhoods. We can look at three schools in the inner city which are predominantly white (viz., ranging from 75 per cent to 95 per cent white and averaging 87 per cent). The Negro families in these areas show the following pattern (see Table 5-14): those who say their neighbors are not friendly do better than those who say they are friendly; those who do not know neighbors do better than those who do; but those who plan to stay do better than those who plan to move. In the first two respects they resemble the white groups in the moderately high area, but differ from whites in the same school districts. If we could observe only the low status groups among the whites (Italian and Polish) we might find further confirmation of the hypothesis. The group that intends to move is probably a mixture of high status families who see the neighborhood as declining and of those who are repelled by the neighborhood because of lower status norms and hence feel inferior.

To review the interpretation of Table 5-14, the Negro family most likely to live among whites is also most likely to be ambitious educationally, have more education, etc. They are also most likely to feel hostility from white neighbors and therefore unlikely to say they are friendly. They are unlikely to have neighbors they can visit. But, being ambitious and determined, they are more likely to say they will stay. It should be noted that in every comparison but one the whites living in these selected neighborhoods show opposite results from Negroes as we would anticipate. The small number of cases prevents the multiple analysis which is required, so the finding must be treated as suggestive only.

If we look at the white population living in the outer city school districts the data suggest somewhat the same conclusion. (See Table 5-15.) Taking the moderately high neighborhoods on a school-by-school basis, we see a relationship between the number of people who are English or Jewish (28 to 35 per cent) and a higher reading achievement when respondents say neighbors are friendly. In the schools with largest proportions of English and Jewish (schools 50 and 51 from the moderately high area and 53 and 54 from the high normed area), the more friendly neighbors are seen in the area, the higher the mean reading achievement score.

Table 5-14

Reading Achievement by Race for Schools in Moderately
Low Achievement Norm Neighborhoods that Are 75 or More
Per Cent White (Schools 10, 12, 32) (For Long-Term Residents)

Race	Plan to Move in Year	Do Not Plan To Move	Know No Neighbors	Know One or More	No Neighbor Friendly	One Or More Friendly
Negro	(14) -12.9	(27) -11.4	(11) -11.2	(29) -12.2	(5) - 9.6	(36) -12.3
White	(65) -11.1	(124) - 8.1	(56) - 9.3	(133) - 9.1	(31) -10.4	(158) - 9.0

Table 5-15

Reading Achievement by Neighbors Friendly and Ethnity for Each School in the Outer City (For Long-Term Residents)

	No Neighbor Friendly	One or More Friendly	Percent English	Per Cent of English and Jewish
Schools	Schools in Moderately High Neighborhood			
52	(4) +12.8	(75) + 0.8	(85) 19	(85)* 19
55	(4) + 2.8	(76) + 0.5	(85) 14	(85) 14
50	(2) - 5.5	(78) + 2.6	(86) 27	(86) 27
51	(11) - 3.5	(76) - 0.9	(89) 29	(89) 29
Schools	Schools in High Norm Neighborhood			
53	(8) + 0.9	(74) + 8.5	(85) 35	(85) 45
54	(5) + 6.0	(78) + 8.0	(85) 27	(85) 55

---

* Since there are Jews in only two schools--53 and 54--this column will differ from the preceding one only in the bottom two cells.

Schools with a lower percentage of English and Jewish (14 to 18 per cent) we find the opposite--the more respondents say neighbors are friendly the lower the reading scores. We think what this phenomenon represents is the fact that German and Eastern European (non-Jewish) ethnic groups have strong ethnic ties which are very closely identified with "territory." As a consequence, they resent any other minority moving into their neighborhood. Only those newcomers who are most intrepid and most ambitious will be able to break through this restrictive recruitment structure. These "strangers" (like the pioneering Negro families in white schools) will have to live without neighborhood friends and with a sense that neighbors are unfriendly. At the same time their children will have strong incentives from family and neighborhood to do well in school. We are in no position to document these speculations with our present data. Rather, we advance these ideas in an effort to unravel the consistent deviation of this outer city neighborhood from all others.

Conclusion and Summary

In this chapter we have sought to specify some of the general mechanisms through which the neighborhood influences the family. One central point which has consistently showed up in our analysis is that the more the family is integrated into the neighborhood, the more likely their children are to adhere to neighborhood norms. This means in the low normed neighborhoods a family's integration into the neighborhood was associated with low reading levels while in the high normed neighborhood it was associated with high reading levels. More specifically we found that in low normed neighborhoods the child did more poorly the longer families lived in the neighborhood, the more neighbors they knew, the more neighbors looked after children, and the more they belonged to organizations which involved other neighbors. In addition, the more they thought neighbors were friendly, the worse their children read. By contrast, in the highest normed neighborhood the child read better the longer his family lived in the neighborhood, the more neighbors they knew, the more neighbors watched children, the more they belonged to organizations which included neighbors, and the more they felt their neighbors were friendly. It can be seen that having a cohesive neighborhood is not always good. It depends on the norms of the neighborhood as well.

This set of findings highlighted one major device by which neighborhoods influenced families--socialization. In addition, there was some evidence that mechanisms of selective recruitment and selective expulsion were also operating. It was quite clear that newcomers to outer city schools always had children who did better than newcomers to inner city schools. Thus, even if the outer city schools had no socialization, they would still have better students because of their recruitment structure. Finally, we pointed out that there was also a phenomenon of selective expulsion. People who intended to leave the neighborhood generally were most distant from the neighborhood norms. In other words, we seemed to find evidence of all three mechanisms of selective recruitment, selective expulsion, and socialization operating at the same time. The sheer existence of these mechanisms begins to provide a sociological base for the prior "contextual" analysis.

There were some important exceptions to the above analysis. The second highest normed neighborhood in the outer city was deviant in almost all of the above cases. In this neighborhood the most integrated people did not adhere to neighborhood norms. In addition, we noted that our findings held least for educated white families. For them, high performance on the part of the child was associated with the use of expulsion mechanisms.

We sought to explain the deviant predictions for the educated whites in our sample by suggesting that more desirable neighborhoods maintained open structures for them while putting restrictions on Negro and poorly educated whites. As a consequence, the highly educated white who was "achievement" or educationally oriented would find it to his advantage to use self-expulsion mechanisms. By contrast, the less mobile Negro and white families who valued education would use socialization and selective recruitment to build up their current neighborhood. To explain the deviant predictions in the one outer city neighborhood we suggested that, where a group has very restrictive recruitment structures, the strangers who manage to get in may (paradoxically enough) adhere to the group norms more than most members. The rationale here is that strangers who enter a neighborhood, despite restrictive barriers, must have unusual ability or commitment to the neighborhood norms. For instance, the Negro family which moves into a prejudiced all white neighborhood must have extremely powerful achievement drives or feel very strongly that the educational opportunities are better. We think the children of such parents are under a dual pressure from neighborhood and family to do well. At the same time the parents are isolated. We feel this explanation might account for the fact that some Negro minority members had children who performed better (adhered to neighborhood norms) when the parents indicated the neighbors were not friendly.

This same line of reasoning accounted for the consistently deviant pattern of one of the two outer city neighborhoods. We found, upon a more detailed analysis, that this neighborhood was made up of very distinctive ethnic groups who were very likely to use restrictive recruitment patterns on all from different ethnic groups. Any non-ethnic member moving into such a neighborhood would (like the Negro family in a white neighborhood) have children who did well even as the parents felt the neighbors were unfriendly.

These speculations on our deviant cases are of some value for suggesting future lines of inquiry. Yet, we would not want the reader to overlook the most impressive aspect of the data we have presented in this chapter--the clear indication that there are some neighborhood mechanisms of socialization, selective recruitment, and selective expulsion at work. This begins to supply the sociological base for the prior "contextual" analysis. Considering the complex chain of social events that intervene between the parents' involvement in the neighborhood and the child's school performance, we think it remarkable that with so few variables we were able to observe any relationship at all. It suggests that we may have some very powerful processes that come through despite our still primitive conceptualization and limited measurement. In the following chapters we shall make an attempt to trace out more explicitly some of the paths by which neighborhood influence moves through the family to the child.

Footnotes

1. The isolation of these mechanisms is not particularly original. They were most clearly brought to our attention by Donald Warren (95). We would only take note that we consider them very preliminary types of neighborhood mechanisms. For a more detailed set which was developed with regard to issues of mobility, see Fellin and Litwak (19).

2. For instance, in a neighborhood which is in the process of changing from one status group to another, there may be differences between newcomers and old time residents which still would be more or less accounted for by processes of selection.

3. We originally decided on this break because, on the basis of a past study, we found that the number of neighbors one knew did not increase materially after the first nine months in the area.(54) In retrospect, we would have taken a slightly different break since this extreme one does not really permit enough cases to do anything beyond a very primitive analysis.

4. Thus, for the low norm neighborhood, those who belong to no organizations where there is a neighbor have children with an Iowa of -15.0, while those who belong to more than one have children with an Iowa of -14.5. In the high norm neighborhood those who belong to no neighborhood organization have children with an Iowa of +3.7, while those who belong to more than one such organization have children with Iowas of +8.7.

5. It should show differences between the positively and negatively oriented which are between the high neighborhood and the moderately low neighborhood. It does not. Rather it falls between the low neighborhood and the moderately low neighborhood.

6. We are not saying that contact inevitably leads to more positive identification though this can possibly be derived from Homan's formulations.(36) There is evidence by Festinger and Kelly, as well as from Petigrew, that this contact may also lead to negative associations.(20) (76) We feel that contact may or may not lead to positive identification, depending on other factors such as suggested by Petigrew.(76) However, where one assumes that a neighborhood does have some positive socialization effects on a given individual, then it is more legitimate to hypothesize that contact and reference orientation go together.

7. This measure of association is derived by assuming that the percentage in the first column is the maximum who would under any circumstance say, "not neighbors friendly." If there is a relationship then the cells in the second column should tend toward zero. The actual percentage these cells are of the maximum possible is the measure of association. Thus, in the case of the first row there could have been a 30 per cent drop but there was only an 11 per cent drop. The association would then be 11 out of 30, or 37 per cent.

8. One bit of practical information in Table 5-8 may have some theoretical implications as well. We find that when reference orientation is controlled, the relationship between contact and Iowa scores tends to disappear. If the right hand side of Table 5-8 is examined, we see that for the two low neighborhood groups there is virtually no difference in reading scores between those with neighborhood contact and those without. The moderately high group goes in the direction opposite from that predicted by a socialization hypothesis (as it has generally done before), but the high group goes in the predicted direction. In the inner city neighborhoods where the reference orientation is positive, actual contact would seem to play little role in determining how well the child will conform to neighborhood reading norms. By contrast, regardless of indicated contact, reference orientation relates to reading achievement in the manner predicted by a socialization hypothesis. Where there is no neighborhood contact at all, the prediction is perfectly fulfilled (but the numbers in each cell are too small to rely on). Where there is some contact between heighbors, the differences in reference orientation go in the predicted direction except for the moderately high normed neighborhood. In short, if we have to choose between the two measures it looks like the reference item is a more powerful predictor.

9. We find a relative confirmation because the whites in the lowest area who intend to move have slightly lower scores than those not intending to move. However, compared to those in the moderately low and high achievement norm neighborhood, they do relatively well viz-a-vis the people who are staying. We shall point out below that the relative measure becomes absolute if we use a more extreme measure of staying.

Chapter 6

The Child's Peer Group as a Factor in Neighborhood Influence

Thus far we discussed characteristics and behavior of adult family members in the neighborhood as these may be related to the child's reading achievement. We have not, as yet, considered how neighborhood influence on parents is brought to bear on the child. This influence might be direct insofar as the parent socializes the child in a given way because of interactions with her neighbors. A parent's influence might be indirect, for instance, through his children who interact with other children, even though the parent had little neighborhood contact himself. But, of course, the effect of the child's peer group cannot be confined to those derived from parental attitudes and values. Children have a life of their own, and, as a consequence, are exposed to socialization forces in addition to the family. The effect of children on each other is therefore a mix of parental influence and that of teachers, storekeepers, older children, etc. The independent effect of peer groups is likely to increase with the age of the children as the independence of the child from the family is increasing. Even at younger ages when the family almost completely surrounds the child, there are peer group influences transmitted through siblings who interact with different children. The influence of the peer group depends on the context and the character of interaction as well as the structure of the group, e.g., is it dominated by one child, are there opposing cliques, frequent changes of leadership, etc. It is of theoretical and practical interest to have measures of the child's peer group and to see how these interact with parental neighborhood measures to affect reading achievement scores.

Child's Peer Group Defined by Reporting Friends in Trouble with the Police

We asked children directly about their friends or peers in a number of questions. One item asked: "Did any of your best friends ever get in trouble with the police?" Approximately 31.6 per cent said they had friends who got in trouble with the police. We will interpret a "yes" answer to this question to mean that the child has a peer group which may have a negative effect on the child's educational achievement. A "no" response may mean that the child does not report a peer group (viz., "best friends"), or if he has, they do not get in trouble with the police. Of course, the latter interpretation is most direct and acceptable.

Through this question we can begin to look at the relationship, if any, between the child's peer group and his Iowa scores. Since we already know that neighborhood norms affect the reading achievement score, let us look at peer group influence within this context. Table 6-1 presents the results. We see that there is a very definite peer group influence within each neighborhood. The more the child reports friends who get in trouble with police, the more likely he is to do poorly in his reading. There is, at the same time, for the long-term residents an independent neighborhood effect. Thus children with both negative and positive peer groups read better when they are in high normed rather than low normed neighborhoods.

What the exact relationship between the adult neighborhood and its peer group is, of course, an important issue. For instance, do the low normed neighborhoods effect the children by encouraging or discouraging the growth of negative reference peer groups. The per cent of children with negative reference group is given for each neighborhood in Table 6-2. The low Iowa normed neighborhoods have the highest per cent, whereas the high Iowa normed neighborhoods have smaller proportions. In other words, either the low achievement norm neighborhoods generate negative peer group contacts or through selection and repulsion they systematically eliminate children with positive reference orientations. The difference between newcomers and long-term residents suggests that recruitment has some influence since the percentage of children reporting negative reference groups is equal for newcomers and old timers (except for the low normed neighborhood). Whatever the process, the low achievement normed neighborhoods appear more hospitable to negative reference orientations, and it is possible that this is one way by which children's reading skills are eventually affected.

Pursuing an implication of this finding, we may gain some understanding of one way in which the integration of families into the neighborhood may eventually affect the child. To the extent that the child's integration into his peer group reflects his parent's integration in the neighborhood, it should follow that the child will adhere to the peer group norms of that neighborhood. Thus, for the low normed neighborhood the more integrated the adults the more children will report negative peer groups and for the high normed neighborhood the more integrated the adults the less children will report negative peer groups.

Table 6-1

Reading Achievement by Length of Residence in Neighborhood by "Friends in Trouble with the Police"[a] by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Short Term Residents: Friend has trouble with police	Short Term Residents: Friend has no trouble with police	Long Term Residents: Friend has trouble with police	Long Term Residents: Friend has no trouble with police
Low	(8) -15.1	(7) -10.1	(128) -16.0	(200) -13.9
Moderately Low	(26) -15.5	(43) -12.1	(210) -12.1	(390) - 9.2
Moderately High	(4) - 4.0	(14) + 0.7	(74) - 3.7	(251) + 2.1
High	(1) - 2.0	(3) - 9.3	(33) - 0.9	(132) +10.1

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[a] Child's response.

Table 6-2

Percent of Children Saying "Best Friend in Trouble with Police" by Length of Stay in Neighborhood by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Short term Residents	Long term Residents
Low	53 (15)	39 (328)
Moderately low	37 (69)	35 (600)
Moderately high	22 (18)	22 (325)
High	25 (4)	20 (165)

Table 6-3

Percent of Children Saying "Best Friend in Trouble with Police" by Parent's Contact with Neighbors, by Achievement Normed Neighborhood (for Long Term Residents)

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Parents Integrated*	Parents Not Integrated**
Low	40 (284)	29 (44)
Moderately Low	35 (460)	35 (140)
Moderately High	21 (289)	36 (36)
High	19 (157)	25 (8)

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*One or more neighbors known well enough to spend a half hour with.

**No neighbors known well enough to spend a half hour with.

Table 6-4

Per Cent of Children Saying "Best Friend in Trouble with Police" by Parent's Statement that Neighbors are Friendly by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods (for Long Term Residents)

Achievement Norm Neighborhood	No Neighbors Friendly	One or More Neighbors Friendly
Low	40 (67)	39 (261)
Moderately Low	24 (99)	37 (502)
Moderately High	33 (21)	22 (305)
High	30 (13)	19 (152)

If we examine Table 6-3, we see that this is generally the case. Forty per cent of the children of respondent parents who are integrated into low normed neighborhoods report negative peer groups, whereas in the low normed neighborhoods only 29 per cent of the children of parents not integrated so report. By contrast, in the high normed areas where parents are integrated into the neighborhood their children report negative primary groups in 19 per cent of the cases and the children of non-integrated parents in the neighborhood report belonging to negative reference groups 25 per cent of the time. The small number of cases in cells of Table 6-3 for the high normed neighborhood may make this particular finding uncertain, but the pattern of the table is persuasive especially since the table reflects responses from both the mother and her child.

Let us test for the relation between the child's peer group and the parent's neighborhood reference orientation. If we look at Table 6-4 we can see that the previous findings still hold but somewhat less distinctly. The two lower neighborhoods do not show the expected pattern. Even so, the difference between the low normed and the high normed neighborhoods is in the right direction. The gross difference between inner city and outer city is clear. We conclude, however, that this measure of reference orientation does not clearly confirm the relationship between the parent's neighborhood integration and the child's peer associations although the evidence is not strongly contradictory.

The difference between Tables 6-3 and 6-4 where two different measures are used to test the hypothesis of a causal chain between parent neighborhood behavior and child peer group behavior as reflected in specified neighborhood contexts may result from inadequate measures. But it may also highlight different dimensions of family neighborhood relationships and their effects, in turn, on the child's reading development.

It is useful to examine directly the relationships between the previously used measures of adult neighboring, child peer groups, and reading achievement. If we look at Table 6-5 we see that the child's peer group effect seems to hold under all conditions of parental neighborhood integration. Of the eight possible comparisons there is only one exception (for less integrated in moderately low areas). When we look at parental neighborhood contact, the parental effect holds up in only four of the eight possible comparisons but it should be noted that the relationship appears in the extreme neighborhoods. The relatively greater strength of the peer group effect (which we have already seen to be related to parental neighborhood

Table 6-5

Reading Achievement by Length of Residence by Child's Saying "Best Friend in Trouble with Police" by Achievement Norm Neighborhood by Parent's Contact with Neighbors (Long Term Residents)

Achievement Norm Neighborhood		Child's Friends in trouble with police	Child's Friends not in trouble with police
Low	Parents have no neighbors they know	-13.9 (13)	-13.0 (31)
	Parents have one or more neighbors they know	-16.2 (115)	-14.0 (169)
Moderately Low	Parents have no neighbors they know	-10.1 (49)	-11.0 (91)
	Parents have one or more neighbors they know	-12.7 (161)	- 8.6 (299)
Moderately High	Parents have no neighbors they know	+ 0.5 (13)	+ 3.5 (23)
	Parents have one or more neighbors they know	- 4.6 (61)	+ 1.9 (228)
High	Parents have no neighbors they know	-11.0 (2)	+ 6.0 (6)
	Parents have one or more neighbors they know	- 0.3 (31)	+10.3 (126)

integration) suggests that the parent's neighborhood contact may affect the child by encouraging him to join peer groups which, in turn, have a greater impact on the child's reading skills.

If we next examine parental reference group behavior we find in Table 6-6 that it seems to contribute to reading level independently of the child's peer group. Thus it can be seen that in seven out of eight cases the more negative the child's reference group the worse he does. In seven out of eight comparisons the more positive the reference orientation of the parent to the neighborhood, the more likely the child's reading scores are to be closer to the neighborhood norm.1/ This suggests that the parent's reference group might operate through family mechanisms more directly on the child without intervention of the peer group, whereas neighborhood contact of parents is the first part of a sequence leading to the child's involvement in neighborhood peer groups which in turn affect his reading level.

Child's Peer Group Defined by Reporting that Older Children Who Skip School are Known

To this point in our analysis we have defined peer group by using an item only indirectly tied to education. The assumption was that if a child's best friends were in trouble with the police, the child would be less likely to have a positive peer influence for educational achievement.

We now take another item to tie the peer group more specifically into the educational realm. However, it does not reflect a direct tie of the child to the group but only the child's exposure to behavior of a negative peer group, whether or not he is a member. We asked children the following question:

> "How many older boys and girls who live near you do you know who ever skip school? -- all of them, most of them, half of them, 3 or 4, 2 of them, none of them."

In Table 6-7 we see that those who say three or more constitute generally a decreasing proportion of children the higher the achievement normed area. The difference is most evident between the inner and the outer city neighborhoods but it is reasonable to say that children are more likely to have older peer groups who tend to skip school and hence to provide a negative model if they come from the lower socioeconomic areas which are also the lower reading achievement neighborhoods.

Table 6-6

Mean Reading Achievement Score by Child Saying "Best Friend in Trouble with Police" by Parent's View of Neighbors as Friendly and Achievement Norm Neighborhoods (Long Term Residents)

Achievement Norm Neighborhood	Parent's view of neighbors	Child's Friends in trouble with police	Child's Friends not in trouble with police
Low	Not Friendly	(27) -12.3	(40) -13.7
	Friendly	(101) -17.0	(160) -13.9
Moderately Low	Not Friendly	(24) -15.0	(75) - 9.9
	Friendly	(187) -11.7	(315) - 9.0
Moderately High	Not Friendly	(07) - 7.4	(14) + 4.6
	Friendly	(67) - 3.3	(238) + 1.9
High	Not Friendly	(04) - 6.0	(09) + 6.8
	Friendly	(29) - 0.2	(123) +10.4

Rable 6-7

Percent of Children Who Say They Know Three or More Older Children in Neighborhood Who Ever Skip School by Length of Residence, by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods

Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Short Term Residents	Long Term Residents
Low	6 (15)	18 (330)
Moderately Low	11 (69)	16 (600)
Moderately High	0 (18)	6 (326)
High	0 (4)	4 (165)

If we now look at the relationship between the child's response on this item and parent's integration into the neighborhood, the finding is parallel to the preceding analysis. (See Table 6-8.) When the parent is integrated into the low normed neighborhood, the child is more likely to know children who skip school than when the parent is not integrated into this neighborhood; when the parent is integrated into the high-normed neighborhood the child is less likely to know children who skip school. The differences are small because the proportion who know this many children who skip school is small, but the patterning of the table is clear. There is the definite implication that the more involved the parent is with his neighbors, the more likely the child is to come in contact with a peer group relatively characteristic of that neighborhood.

Finally, if we examine the relationship between parental neighborhood contact and this new measure of child's peer group contact, we find a tendency for each variable to affect mean achievement levels somewhat independently. (See Table 6-9.) In eight out of eight comparisons, mean scores of children who know older children who skip school tend to be lower than where such children are not known. In six out of eight cases the more integrated the parent is into the neighborhood the more likely the child's mean achievement level is to follow the norm of that neighborhood.2/ (See Table 6-9.)

If we subject the analysis of the variable examined in this chapter to controls by race and education of parents, we do not materially change the general findings. Such an analysis suggests why reference group questions do not relate as well as membership questions to reading levels and the analysis points to conditions under which the child's neighboring affects the parents, but since these are somewhat tangential to the main point of this chapter, they have not been included here.

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to link the parent's neighborhood behavior more directly to the child by examining the child's peer group. First, we used two measures that show that the child in the lower normed neighborhoods is more likely to have peer groups whose activities are likely to interfere with educational achievement. When children reported themselves in association with such peer groups, they did more poorly in school.

Table 6-8

Percent of Children Who Say They Know Three or More Older Children in Neighborhood Who Ever Skip School, by Parent's Neighborhood Contact, by Achievement Normed Neighborhood (Long Term Residents)

Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Parents Integrated*	Parents Not Integrated**
Low	(286) 18	(44) 13
Moderately Low	(462) 15	(140) 18
Moderately High	(290) 6	(36) 8
High	(157) 4	(8) 12

---

*One or more neighbors known well enough to spend a half hour with.

**No neighbors known well enough to spend a half hour with.

Table 6-9

Reading Achievement by Parent's Neighborhood Contact, by Children Reporting They Know Older Children Who Skip School, by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods (Long Term Residents)

	Parent Integrated[a]	
	Child reports knowing:	
	3 or more skip school	None to 2 who skip school
Low	(54) -16.0	(232) -14.7
Moderately Low	(71) -11.2	(389) - 9.9
Moderately High	(18) - 4.2	(272) + 0.9
High	(7) - 6.1	(150) + 8.9
	Parent Not Integrated	
Low	(6) -10.3	(38) -13.7
Moderately Low	(26) -10.3	(114) -10.7
Moderately High	(3) - 8.7	(33) + 3.4
High	(1) -21.0	(7) + 5.0

---

[a] One or more neighbors known well enough to spend a half hour with.

We then showed that the more the parent was in contact with his neighbors the more the child tended to join the peer group characteristic of that neighborhood. Thus the parent who was in contact with his neighbors in the low normed neighborhood was more likely to have children reporting negative peer groups than parents who lived in the neighborhood but were more isolated from their neighbors. In the high normed neighborhoods, the opposite occurred. This suggested that one way the parent affects the child's reading skill is by controlling the peer groups he can join and these peer groups in turn have a direct impact on the child.

Footnotes

1. The reader will recall that the norm in the low neighborhood was against reading achievement, e.g., the more integrated the individual was the worse he did. The norms in the other neighborhoods should support reading achievement. To arrive at our figure of 7 out of 8 the reader should subtract the cell labeled friendly from the matching one labeled not friendly. In the lowest neighborhood there are two such comparisons. The norm of the neighborhood is negative and therefore the more friendly the parent the more negative should be the child's reading scores. If we examine the difference we see that in one case it is -5.0 and in the other case -0.2. By contrast in all other comparisons these differences should be positive. We can see in the moderately low neighborhood it is positive in both cases +3.3 and +0.9. In the moderately high neighborhood it is positive in one case +4.3 and negative in the other -2.5. In the highest neighborhood they are both positive +5.8 and +3.6. Thus in eight possible comparisons there were 7 successes.

2. In order to arrive at this figure we must compare each cell amongst the parents who are integrated with the matching cell amongst those who are not integrated. In the low neighborhood the integrated should have children with lower reading scores while in all others they should have children with high reading scores. We can see that in the low neighborhood the children of integrated parents do worse -5.3 and -1.4. In the moderately low neighborhood they do more in one case -0.9 and better in another +0.8. In the moderately high they do better in one case +4.5 and worse in another -2.5. In the high neighborhood they do better in both cases.

Chapter 7

Differential Power of Neighborhoods as Measured by Mechanisms, Indirect Resources, and Unity of Problems

We have pointed out the importance of neighborhood by showing that the neighborhood context is statistically related to the individual's response. In addition, we attempted to show that the neighborhood operates through the general mechanisms of selection, expulsion, and socialization. Finally, we tried to demonstrate the import of the neighborhood by showing some links between the adult neighborhood and the child's peer group.

In this chapter we shift the focus and ask which neighborhood is most able to implement its values. We will examine this question in three ways. One, we will try to show how neighborhoods have differential ability to use the mechanisms of influence traced out in earlier chapters. Second, we shall try to show that neighborhoods differ in economic, knowledge, and adult supervisory resources to call on to implement their educational goals. Finally, we shall show that neighborhoods have differential consensus on what constitutes meaningful problems. Those neighborhoods where the people share the same sense as to what are meaningful problems are in a better position to enforce their norms than those where less consensus is to be found.

Capacity To Use Socialization, Expulsion, and Recruitment

Much of the discussion on the disappearance of the neighborhood as an effective unit has evolved around the assumption that industrialization brings rapid mobility and heterogeneity and that this is inconsistent with neighborhood cohesion. More recently this assumption has been questioned and studies have shown where highly mobile neighborhoods are quite cohesive.(18) (100) It appears that groups can systematically handle increased intake so that the effects of short membership tenure can be minimized. It is further suggested that processes of rapid socialization are most likely to develop in middle class neighborhoods where men live who are in bureaucratic locations that subject them to demands for both mobility and local community cohesion.(19) Granted these points, it could still be argued (assuming group intake to be the same) that the more mobile group has less capacity to implement its goals, e.g., use the socialization mechanism.

Keeping the foregoing points in mind, let us examine three measures of mobility: (1) the length of time families have lived in the neighborhood, (2) the mean number of semesters children have been in the sample school, and (3) the mean number of schools the children have attended. These three measures of mobility are given in Table 7-1, along with the average reading achievement for each neighborhood.

It can be seen that all three mobility measures indicate a curvilinear relationship to reading achievement. The outer city schools seem to have the most stable population. However, the low inner city neighborhood is more stable than the moderately low. From the viewpoint of stability of population, we would say that the outer city neighborhoods are in a better position to implement their values. There is only one instance where the measure for an outer city neighborhood shows less mobility than both inner city neighborhoods. Though immobility is not be itself a measure of the neighborhood's cohesiveness, in this particular case it is probably a conservative reflection of it because, as suggested above, the mechanisms which minimize the effects of mobility on neighborhood cohesion are most likely to occur in the outer city neighborhood of our sample--the ones which in fact least need them since they are least mobile.

If this analysis is correct, the lesser cohesiveness of the inner city neighborhoods may not be viewed as socially undesirable insofar as these neighborhoods support negative educational values.

Let us now examine neighborhood contact, presumably an underlying dimension of neighborhood cohesion. If we look at Table 7-2, we can see the same curvilinear relationship reported for mobility variables. The greatest cohesion is found in outer city schools with the low normed inner city neighborhoods somewhat more cohesive than the moderately low. Since contact may be a function of length of stay in the neighborhood as well as of population density, this relationship is understandable. In the low neighborhood there are two schools dominated by high density housing projects. On the less restrictive measure of isolation, knowing one neighbor or none, a sharper distinction between inner and outer city occurs. In the low neighborhood there are 69 per cent who would be called isolates, 70 per cent in the second lowest, 42 per cent in the moderately high, and 34 per cent in the highest.

If contact is an index of neighborhood cohesion and cohesion is an index of capacity to influence, we see again that the upper class neighborhoods are better organized to implement their views.

Table 7-1

Reading Achievement, Per Cent in Neighborhood Less than One Year,
Mean Number of Semesters in Current School,
Mean Number of Schools Attended, by Neighborhood Achievement Norm

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Mean Semesters in Current School	Mean Schools Attended	% Less than One Year in the Neighborhood	Total N
INNER CITY	Low	8.5	1.8	04	(345)
	Moderately Low	6.5	2.7	10	(672)
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	9.7	1.6	05	(344)
	High	10.0	1.1	02	(169)

Table 7-2

Per Cent of Parents in Contact with No Neighbors or with One or No Neighbor by Achievement Normed Neighborhood (Long-Term Residents)

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	% in Contact with no Neighbors*	% in Contact with One or No Neighbor	Total N
Low	13	69	(330)
Moderately Low	23	70	(603)
Moderately High	11	42	(326)
High	04	34	(165)

---

* They know no neighbors well enough to spend half hour with.

This hypothesis is further buttressed if we look at the reference group question which explicitly asked how friendly the neighbors are. If we look at Table 7-3 we can see the reference-group responses. The low neighborhood has the largest proportion saying "no neighbor is friendly" (21 per cent); the moderately low neighborhood has 18 per cent; the outer city neighborhoods have 07 per cent and 08 per cent who hold a negative reference.

If these figures on reference group orientation are taken in conjunction with the figures on amount of neighborhood contact, it would suggest that there are in the lower two areas people with high contact but negative reference orientation. In an earlier chapter we pointed out that in the outer city neighborhoods the positive association between reference and contact was considerably greater than in the inner city neighborhoods. In other words, much contact in the lower normed neighborhoods takes place between neighbors who are not especially friendly. This suggests that the higher economic neighborhoods can use both reference and membership groups to re-enforce each other, whereas the lower economic areas frequently have these two giving opposite impulses. This is indeed a hidden strength of many higher economic neighborhoods.

Another measure of potential neighborhood strength can be derived from the item which asks individuals if their neighbors would watch the children. In order to control for time in neighborhood, only those respondents who were in the neighborhood more than a year were analyzed (see Table 7-4). It can be seen that the higher the socio-economic level of the neighborhood and the higher the reading achievement norm, the higher the proportion who say that neighbors will watch out for the children. Thus, in the low normed neighborhood 45 per cent of the mothers say their neighbors will watch while in the high normed neighborhood 65 per cent say they will watch. To understand these answers farther we can look at those who say neighbors will help and those in contact with the neighbors. The assumption would be that those in contact are in a better position to make valid statements than those who are not. We see that the same findings hold for those in contact and with one exception for those not in contact.1/ In all cases, the more contact a respondent has the more likely she is to say the neighbors will watch out for the children.

Let us look, finally, at the number of organizations people belong to which involve their neighbors as well. In some of the discussions of voluntary associations, it is argued that their very existence is an index of the breakdown of neighborhood groups.(30) Voluntary associations are viewed as secondary organizations which bring people together on a city-wide basis for

Table 7-3

Per Cent Saying No Neighbor Friendly[*]
by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods
(For Long-Term Residents)

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Per Cent No Friendly Neighbor	Total N
Low	21	(322)
Moderately Low	18	(563)
Moderately High	07	(322)
High	08	(164)

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[*] Don't know responses are not included in this and other tables unless otherwise specified.

Table 7-4

Per Cent Who Say Most Neighbors Will Watch Children, by Achievement Normed Neighborhood, by Neighborhood Contact (Long-Term Residents)

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	No Neighbor Contact	Some Neighbor Contact	Total
Low	(36) 36	(273) 46	(309) 45
Moderately Low	(119) 37	(448) 46	(567) 44
Moderately High	(31) 58	(282) 64	(313) 63
High	(8) 25	(154) 67	(162) 65

specific instrumental kinds of relations. They are viewed as competitors of the traditional neighborhood primary groups. However, some empirical evidence suggests that voluntary associations form the basis of friendship ties (2) and, furthermore, under certain circumstances voluntary associations may serve to integrate people into the neighborhood by buttressing local neighborhood primary groups (55). Voluntary organizations can act this way only when they consist of neighborhood members so they are not competitive with neighborhood primary groups but reinforce them.

In our study we asked respondents how many organizations they belonged to where neighbors belonged as well. It can be seen from Table 7-5 that there are substantial differences among each of our neighborhood norm groups. In the low normed neighborhood, 49 per cent of the respondents belong to one or more organizations to which neighbors belong as well; in the high normed neighborhood, 84 per cent belong. Among the higher normed neighborhoods organizational membership is undoubtedly a function of the fact that middle class people belong to more organizations than lower class ones do. The point is, however, that in the higher normed neighborhoods people are more likely to have access to their neighbors through organizations. We have already indicated that they also have greater access through informal webs of communication as well. We therefore conclude that in the higher level neighborhoods people are better able to use the resources of the voluntary association as well as their informal group ties to enforce their neighborhood norms.

The reader should be clear about the nature of this finding. We are not just saying that wealthy people join more organizations than do poor ones. It may or may not be true that wealthy people in poor neighborhoods join as many organizations as do those in rich neighborhoods. This would not matter since there are so few of them that they cannot communicate with their neighbors through their organizational contacts. Furthermore, their chances of using the organization to implement neighborhood norms are considerably weakened.

This concludes one approach to measuring the degree of strength of the neighborhood. All of these measures are believed to indicate ways through which the neighborhood affects the individual. By all the measures the outer city neighborhoods are stronger in our sample than the inner city neighborhoods.

Indirect Measures of Neighborhood Strength

Aside from these more direct measures of neighborhood strength there are some indirect ones that can be used. Thus, the

Table 7-5

Per Cent Belonging to Organizations Where They Meet Neighbors by Neighborhood Achievement Norms (Long-Term Residents

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	% Belonging to One or More Organizations with Neighbor	Total N
Low	49	(330)
Moderately Low	51	(600)
Moderately High	68	(326)
High	84	(165)

amount of resources a neighborhood has to implement its norms can be considered to be an aggregate of individual resources. In our society money is a generalized means to most goals and, therefore, a wealthy neighborhood is in a better position to get things done than a poor one. There is only one assumption necessary and that is that the people in the wealthy neighborhood are in contact. The reader should again be sensitive to the differences here between individual family wealth and clustered family wealth. Having one wealthy man living among neighbors who are poor is not the equivalent in terms of neighborhood resources to one wealthy man living among other wealthy men. For instance, a wealthy family anywhere might be able to afford free time for a mother to spend more time with the children. But when a neighborhood contains many of such families, they reinforce each other. An isolated wealthy family does not have a buttressing milieu.

If we examine our normed neighborhoods by their median income, we see that the low neighborhood had a median income of $3,366, the moderately low had a median income of $4,225, the moderately high a median income of $7,150, and the high a median income of $8,350. As shown earlier, median income is closely related to normed neighborhood types. Since we have already established that the higher normed neighborhoods show greatest contact, we can now say that their wealth adds to their organizational strength.

The really large difference is between inner and outer city neighborhoods. There is almost a $3,000 difference between the moderately low inner city level and the moderately high outer city level. By contrast, the difference between the two inner city neighborhoods is $825 and between the two outer city neighborhoods $1,200. Similar differences between the inner and outer city are also evident in reading achievement scores.

The reader will recall that in our multi-variate analysis (Chapter 4) we found neighborhood clustering of schools to be a more powerful factor than family income on mean Iowa scores. We are using now not family income but median neighborhood income. To say that family income is not as powerful a variable as neighborhood is not to say income does not enter into the neighborhood structure. It is only to say that other things as well may enter into the definition. The bundle of influences is what we call a neighborhood. It is essential for theoretical as well as practical reasons to understand how underlying dimensions interact to define the neighborhood. We pointed out earlier that one reason why family income was not as powerful as neighborhood might be that not the family's income but the clustering of incomes might be decisive. In our earlier analysis we did not use neighborhood median income as a variable. If we had, the analysis might have shown some different results. However, when we look at Table 7-6 we can see that median income is not perfectly related to Iowa scores. Table 7-6 has a detailed breakdown within each neighborhood level showing median incomes of the separate school districts that make up each normed level. It can be seen that schools 10 and 31 both have median incomes that fall within the range of schools in the low neighborhood grouping but yet have Iowa scores higher than those in the lowest grouping. Though the median income appears to have a good relationship to reading level, it is certainly not a perfect relationship.

As another measure of neighborhood strength, we may use family size on the assumption (to be developed in great detail later)2/ that the larger the family the more difficult it will be for the mother to supervise the children. Looking at Table 7-6 we can see that number of children is also related to neighborhood levels. The highest neighborhood level has on the average 2.2 children per family, the moderately high has 2 children per family, the moderately low neighborhood (inner city) has 3.3, and the lowest (inner city) has 4.1 children per family. Again, we would emphasize the cluster differences rather than the family difference. On the average the families are smaller in the outer city than the inner city areas. As a consequence, mothers have more time and energy for each child but, moreover, the surrounding social milieu is one in which such supervision is possible. This is not available to even small families which happen to live in inner city neighborhoods. The high normed neighborhood has this advantage over the low normed neighborhood.

Size of family and income are inversely related in our sample and therefore, in much of our later analysis, we will use per capita income as the measure. Per capita income shows a steady progression by neighborhood level (see Table 7-7). By this measure, per capita income is about four times higher for the highest than for the lowest group levels.

We have thus far used two indirect ways of measuring neighborhood strength: the amount of neighborhood income as a generalized measure of means for achieving goals, and family size as a factor that affects the amount of parental supervision and may constitute an educational disadvantage. Another measure of neighborhood strength is the educational level of the parents. The ability to move up the educational ladder involves kinds of knowledge that frequently can only be gotten through apprenticeship experiences. A person who has gone through college is frequently in a much better position than others to know what kind of study habits will insure success. A child might get this kind of

Table 7-6

Schools by Mean Iowa Score, Median Income, Mean Number of Children Under 19

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Schools	Mean Iowa	Median Income	Mean Number of Children Under 19
Low	20	-16.7	2,900	4.2
	22	-14.6	2,800	4.4
	30	-13.3	3,800	4.1
	40	-15.1	3,900	3.6
Group Mean		-14.7	3,366	4.1
Moderately Low	10	-11.9	3,500	2.7
	11	-10.9	4,700	3.2
	12	- 6.8	5,000	3.2
	21	-10.1	4,000	3.3
	31	-12.0	3,900	3.5
	32	-10.7	5,000	3.3
	41	-10.8	4,700	3.8
	42	-11.0	5,000	3.2
Group Mean		-10.5	4,225	3.3
Moderately High	50	1.9	6,900	1.5
	51	- .9	7,000	2.4
	52	.9	7,500	2.1
	55	.9	7,200	1.8
Group Mean		.7	7,150	2.0
High	53	7.2	7,900	2.2
	54	7.9	8,800	2.1
Group Mean		7.5	8,350	2.2

Table 7-7

Median Per Capita Income by Neighborhood Achievement Norms

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Median Per Capita Income
Low	$ 440
Moderately Low	715
Moderately High	1,420
High	1,600

knowledge from his parents. However, where a neighborhood is populated by well educated families, both the child and his parent might pick up this information through associations with peers--even where the parents are not well educated.

If we examine Table 7-8, we see the relationship between education and our four levels of neighborhood. Educational differences are marked between the inner and outer city neighborhoods. They are also marked between the two outer city neighborhoods, but they do not differentiate the two inner city neighborhoods. The highest normed neighborhood is almost three times as likely to have high school or college graduates as either of the inner city neighborhoods.

Similar findings could be reported with regard to other socio-economic variables, such as occupation. We will not develop this analysis because we believe the general point has been made that the higher achievement normed neighborhoods are also ones which have greater indirect resources that enable the neighborhood to implement its educational goals. This point is especially crucial when we remember that the same neighborhoods exhibit greater interaction between neighbors and take more positive attitudes toward neighbors. We suggest that these underlying dimensions are some of the real sociological bases for our neighborhood clustering.

Neighborhood Heterogeneity in Stressing Common Problems

There is an additional indirect measure of neighborhood strength we would like to discuss. It involves the notion of population heterogeneity. We would argue that heterogeneity, like mobility, is not necessarily a disorganizing factor where the group has available processes for socialization or where the differences involved are not contradictory but supplementary.

Let us assume, for the moment, that the families in our sample have equal capacity to socialize children. We can say that those families which have a variety of problems will have more difficulty working cooperatively than those that have fewer problems.

To examine this point, we will consider simultaneously the following dimensions of family: mother working, father employed, father living at home, and size of family. A working mother will have different problems from a non-working mother. We asked mothers if they have worked during the last six years (the period their child was in school) and classified those who said "less than a year" or "never" as non-workers. The respondent was also

Table 7-8

Per Cent With Less Than a High School Degree
by Neighborhood Achievement Norm

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	% Less Than High School Degree	Total N
Low	77	(345)
Moderately Low	77	(672)
Moderately High	44	(344)
High	25	(169)

asked how often the husband was unemployed (other than seasonal layoffs such as shutting of automobile plants for model changeovers). The assumption is that families with husbands unemployed have different problems from those with no such history.(78)(1a) We asked how many children the respondent had and classified those with five or more in one group and all others in another group. The assumption is that mothers of large families (5 or more) have many different every day problems to contend with and are frequently forced by the very size of the family to place different weights on neatness, household appearance, supervision of the child, etc. We asked if the respondent had a husband living with her or not. Again, the assumption is that living with a husband leads to somewhat different problems than not living with a husband, If all these dimensions are considered simultaneously there are 12 different categories and we hypothesize that they all differ from each other in terms of the type and heterogeneity of important problems. We may take the percentage of families in the categories as a rough index of problem homogeneity and examine the distribution by neighborhood (see Table 7-9).

The category with the highest percentage of families for the low normed neighborhood has 22 per cent of the cases in it; the moderately low neighborhood has 15 per cent of the cases in its modal category; the modal category in the high normed outer city neighborhood has 44 per cent of the cases in it; and the moderately high area has 36 per cent of the cases in its modal category. Thus, the highest normed neighborhood has almost twice the problem-homogeneity as the low neighborhood and over four times that of the moderately low normed neighborhood. Put somewhat differently, the outer city neighborhoods are more likely than the inner city ones to have families which have matching everyday problems--that is, being in a milieu of families with similar problems--is a source of strength to a neighborhood.

In addition, it can be seen that the modal category for outer city families represents a less troubled family than the inner city modal category. It is small (4 or less children), the husband has not been unemployed, and the wife is not working. The inner city shows the large family (5 or more children), the husband with a history of unemployment, and the wife unemployed, the broken family (i.e., no husband at home) is noticeable only in the low normed area.

Conclusion and Summary

This chapter provides evidence that outer city neighborhoods are better able to implement their values than inner city neighborhoods. We have shown that outer city neighborhoods have

Table 7-9

Per Cent of Families with Common Problems by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods. (Common problems defined by mothers working, father unemployment history, family size, and whether there is a husband in the house.)

Mother Working	Marital Status and Father Unemployment	Family Size	Low Achievement Neighborhood	Moderately Low Achievement Neigh.	Moderately High Achievement Neigh.	High Achievement Neighborhood
Mother Unemployed	Father works	4 or less children	07	09	36	44
		5 or more children	07	08	07	10
	Father unempl. or hist. of such	4 or less children	08	12	14	12
		5 or more children	22	13	02	02
	No husband home	4 or less children	11	06	02	01
		5 or more children	12	05	00	01

(continued on next page)

Table 7-9 (continued

Per Cent of Families with Common Problems by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods. (Common problems defined by mothers working, father unemployment history, family size, and whether there is a husband in the house.)

Mother Working	Marital Status and Father Unemployment	Family Size	Low Achievement Neighborhood	Moderately Low Achievement Neigh.	Moderately High Achievement Neigh.	High Achievement Neighborhood
Mother Employed	Father works	4 or less children	03	10	20	14
		5 or more children	03	02	02	02
	Father unempl. or hist. of such	4 or less children	08	15	10	07
		5 or more children	08	07	01	01
	No husband home	4 or less children	08	10	05	05
		5 or more children	04	04	01	00
		Total N	101% (345)	101% (677)	100% (344)	99% (169)

more stability, greater contact between neighbors both informally and through voluntary associations, and a more positive reference between neighbors. We pointed out that outer city neighborhoods have greater resources to draw on financially, in terms of knowledge, and in ability to supervise their children. Finally, we pointed out that outer city families tend to be more homogeneous with respect to everyday problems and therefore more likely to have a common community of interest. This in turn means that the outer city neighborhoods are more able to act as a common body rather than being split up into differing groups.

Footnotes

1. The one exception would be a major one if it were not that it involves very few cases as well as consisting of those who were not in contact with their neighbors and, therefore, less able to make valid judgments.

2. Chapter 12.

Chapter 8

Neighborhood Racial Balance as it Affects Reading Achievement

Before turning to the analysis of family structure there is one further aspect of neighborhood structure to examine -- its racial balance. Does it make any difference for the child's reading skills, if he is racially a minority or majority member of his school-neighborhood? We can only study the problem in the inner city for we have no Negro families in the outer city.

There are two qualifications to express before beginning the analysis of this problem. This investigation should not be taken as a study of the general effects of racial discrimination on the child. As we shall try to detail in the succeeding chapters the effects of prejudice are felt through occupational discrimination, consequent low income, the crowding of Negro families into slum areas, and the development of poor socialization environments. Once formed these factors then lead to lowered occupational motivation, the inability to get good jobs, low income, etc. The phenomenon is a clear example of the "vicious circle."

In the present analysis, the factors of low income and poor socialization environments are taken as given. Because we identify our neighborhoods in terms of their racial majority and minority and control for factors such as income and education, since only inner city families are involved. Furthermore, we must recognize that white families found in Negro neighborhoods (in the present milieu of prejudice) are atypical families, probably families which have suffered some severe reverses -- economic, physical, or mental. It is rare that such a location is based on ideological conviction or random distribution. The same point can be made for Negro minorities in white neighborhoods. With the typical restricted recruitment structures of white neighborhoods, a Negro family has to have unusual ambition, drive, and conviction to overcome the barrier of hostility normally thrown up.

The data we present cannot be used one way or the other to speak about what might happen if average Negro or white families were put into social contact. Nevertheless this material is of keen interest for it enables us to unravel further the kinds of sociological factors that may affect the child's reading achievement. Without making the argument that the minority or majority behavior is typical of what could be achieved in normal circumstances, it is yet important to know if the patterning of our data has been seriously affected by this factor.

In order to investigate the effects of neighborhood racial balance on our population, we divided the families into two groups, e.g., minority and majority. A Negro family was considered to be a member of the majority if 99 per cent of the population in its school area were Negro, as opposed to the situation where 55 to 16 per cent were Negro. The white families were considered to be a majority if 75-84 per cent of the families in the area were white as opposed to situations where 55 to 1 per cent were white.

As Table 8-1 indicates, the relationship between racial balance and reading skills is mixed and weak. A white child in the neighborhood where most children are Negro does slightly better (one month) in his reading score than a white child whose peers are predominantly white. Just the opposite is true of Negro children. If they live in a neighborhood where most of the children are white, they do worse than if they live in a neighborhood where most of the children are Negro (again a one month difference).

The effects of racial balance might be muted by other factors which affect the child's reading achievement. We therefore further divided our population by education of the mother (e.g., less than high school degree and high school degree or more). We can see from Table 8-2 that the effects are still weak and scattered. For the Negro child with an educated mother, being a minority member has no effect at all, and for one with a poorly educated mother being a minority member lowers his scores (one month). For the white families being a minority member raises the child's score one month if he has a poorly educated mother and lowers it 2.3 months if he has a highly educated mother. These small differences, with mixed directions, either indicate that racial balance is not playing a role among our population or that there is some complex interaction taking place.

In order to explore still further this latter possibility we classified the neighborhoods by achievement norms. As can be seen in Table 8-3 we find somewhat the same basic pattern. The Negro child who is a minority member does slightly worse than the one who is a majority member, and the white child tends to show

Table 8-1

Reading Achievement by Racial Balance of the School-Neighborhood, by Race

	Majority in the School*	Minority or Equal in the School**
White	(262) - 9.9	(94) - 9.0
Negro	(506) -12.9	(154) -13.9

---

* 75 to 84 per cent white or 99 per cent Negro.

** 55 per cent to 1 per cent white, or 55 to 16 per cent Negro.

Table 8-2

Reading Achievement by Racial Balance of the School-Neighborhood by Mother's Education and Race

Race	Mother's Education	Majority Member In the School*	Minority or Equal Member In the School**
Negro	Low[a]	(365) -14.1	(118) -15.3
	High[b]	(142) - 9.6	(36) - 9.5
White	Low	(226) -10.6	(78) - 9.4
	High	(27) - 4.5	(16) - 6.8

* Being a majority member means for the white children that they constitute between 75 and 84 per cent of the population. For the Negro children it means 99 per cent of the population.

** Being a minority member means for white students that they range from 55 per cent to 1 per cent. For the Negro student it means 55 per cent to 16 per cent.

a. Less than a high school degree.
b. High school degree or more.

Table 8-3

Reading Achievement by Racial Balance of the School-Neighborhood by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods by Race

Race	Neighborhood Achievement Norms	Majority Members In the School	Minority or Equal Members In the School
Negro	Low[a]	(258) -15.0	(21) -16.0
	Moderately Low[a]	(249) -10.6	(133) -13.7
White	Low	(63) -12.4	(3) *
	Moderately Low	(200) - 9.2	(116) - 8.8

a. For definition see Chapter 4.

* The mean score is -20.3

opposite findings. Again the differences are very small.

We proceeded to see what effects there might be from racial balance if both education of the mother and achievement orientation of the neighborhood were taken into account together. We can see from Table 8-4 that the differences are again small and scattered. For the white children, being a racial minority tends to make no difference or raise their scores slightly. For the Negro, if anything, it is the reverse. In any case we are talking about very small differences compared to such factors as race, achievement norms of neighborhood, and education of the respondent.

Our findings do not seem consistent with those reported by others (12) where the suggestion is made that Negro children do better in mixed schools than where they are in the majority and that whites do slightly worse. We are at a loss to explain the discrepancy. It is quite possible that differences in sample might be a major factor. We have a relatively homogeneous sample whereas the other study was far more representative. In the ordinary population a Negro child living in a white school is in a better socioeconomic situation than a Negro child living in Negro populations. It is possible that these economic differentials produce effects in even most carefully controlled comparisons.

In summary, there are three things we would say about racial balance and its effects on our sample. First, the racial balance of the neighborhood in our sample made virtually no difference in the reading achievement scores of the children. Secondly, it should not be assumed from this that racial balance does not have an important effect in the general population. One of the major purposes of this study will be to show how racial bias has an effect on educational achievement of the child by virtue of affecting his family income and his socializing environment. Finally, we shall reconsider racial balance later in our analysis to show that it does affect the type of linkage between the school and the family.

Taking the findings at face value, this chapter suggests that once the major effects of race are eliminated from the analysis (e.g., income and socialization milieu of the family and neighborhood) then differences in race as such have little bearing on the child's reading achievement.

Rable 8-4

Reading Achievement by Racial Balance of the School-Neighborhood by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods, Mother's Education, and Race

		Negro	
Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Mother's Education	Majority Member in the School	Minority or Equal Member in the School
Low	Low	(196) -16.0	(17) -15.6
	High	(62) -12.0	(4) *
Moderately Low	Low	(169) -12.0	(101) -15.3
	High	(80) - 7.7	(32) - 8.5
		White	
Low	Low	(53) -12.9	(1) **
	High	(10) - 9.6	(2) ***
Moderately Low	Low	(173) - 9.9	(77) - 9.2
	High	(27) - 4.5	(39) - 4.4

*	-17.8
**	-25.0
***	-18.0

Chapter 9

The Family's Aspirations and Educational Goals as a Factor in Reading Achievement

Thus far we have concentrated on the role of the neighborhood, considering the family only indirectly. It is only for purposes of presentation that we separate these two types of primary groups because, in fact, they are generally intertwined. In turning now to the family, our plan for presenting will be simple. We shall first of all ask what the educational goals of the family are--are they interested or not interested in a high level of education for their children. Secondly, we shall ask how able the family is to implement its goals. The investigation of this question will require an explanation of the mutual identification between child and parent, of the processes through which the parent seeks to inculcate given goals, and finally the knowledge base from which the mother operates to implement his goals.

We make a division between the goals of the family and its structure to highlight a point: one can find well organized family structures which at the same time have negative educational values. Too often it is assumed that structure and values go hand in hand. In the earlier discussion of neighborhood, we pointed out that well organized lower normed neighborhoods may be actually more detrimental to educational achievement of the child than the less organized ones. Similarly, it is possible to find migrant white families from the mountains of the rural south in which there is a well organized family structure but where the parents place no real emphasis on education. Moreover, because of extreme suspicion of "officials" (e.g., school staff), such families may actually discourage the educational involvement of the child. Again, in some ethnic groups where family ties are very strong, it has been observed that little virtue is seen in schooling beyond a low level. It is of some interest, therefore, to see at what point families in our study stop aiding the child educationally, and we shall try to determine whether the value orientation or the structure of the family or both are responsible. One of our main observations is that one significant sub-group of the inner city (Negro families) shows a remarkable commitment to the idea of education, but they are limited by aspects of family structure, and by neighborhood and general economic status.

In this chapter we shall concentrate on the measurement of the family's explicit commitment to education.

Measuring Educational Aspirations

One direct approach to educational aspirations is simply to ask the mother how much education she wants for her child. From our pretest experience with such direct questions, it became clear that mothers, when offered a choice with no contingencies, would tend to make the highest choices for their children. Evidently parents in all social classes in our society share the same status scale with respect to education. However, as discussed when considering occupational aspirations, the working class is willing to settle for less than the middle class child. Furthermore, since the lower occupations and poorer educational opportunities are the ones made most immediately available by the society, the working class child is systematically siphoned off into lower status occupations and poorer educational opportunities.

Therefore, we concluded that it was necessary to measure not what the parents ideally desired but what they would be willing to settle for. It was clear from our analysis of the responses of children that by the time they reached the sixth grade (10 to 12 years old) they had already developed different standards as to what they would settle for.

We designed our item about parental educational aspiration for parents with this in mind and asked the following questions:

> "What about the education you want for (NAME OF CHILD)--do you think having some high school without graduating is enough schooling for him (her)?"

If the respondent answered "no," we asked:

> "Do you think finishing high school is enough school for (NAME OF CHILD)?"

If the respondent said "no" again, we asked:

> "If (NAME OF CHILD) had a year or so of trade school or technical training after high school such as an electronics course or business college, would this be enough education for him (her)?"

If the respondent said "no" again, we asked:

> "Do you think one or two years of college is enough education for (NAME OF CHILD)?"

If the respondent said "no" to this, we asked:

"How much education will be enough for (NAME OF CHILD)?"

We coded the parent's response to this last question as "finish college," "professional school," or "graduate school."

We think this strategy for getting at educational aspirations closely resembles the way people actually act with respect to education. After the compulsory school age, it is up to the family or the child to take the initiative. What they decide on as a proper educational goal is a mixture of the value they place on education, their knowledge of the educational ladder, and their economic capabilities. If the value is weak, continued education is quickly discouraged. If knowledge of how to get education is lacking, or if economic limits are grave, a choice is placed at a lower level than otherwise.

To try to understand the influence, if any, of parents' educational aspirations to the child's reading skills, we shall examine first the relationship of these aspirations to factors already demonstrated to affect the reading skills so as to be sure that the relationship is not a spurious one. This will also allow us to trace out some of the elements shaping parental aspirations which may turn out to be one link in a larger causal chain. If this is the case, knowledge of the links will put us in a better position to predict the conditions under which aspirations will affect reading achievement.

At least three factors may be considered to be related to educational aspirations of parents for their children. First is the parent's own educational level. It is plausible to argue that the more educated the parents, the more knowledgeable they are about the educational ladder, the more likely they are to set high educational goals. A parallel argument is that educational aspiration is an indirect index of parental occupational and income aspiration: the more educated parents will want their children to maintain the same, or higher, occupational levels as themselves and will therefore have higher aspirations for the child on the assumption that the higher the educational level the better the job opportunities.

The second factor which has often been shown to be related to parental educational aspiration for children is race. Negroes tend to have higher aspirations for their children than white parents.

The third factor, more recently considered, is the effect of neighborhood, or school district, on educational aspirations. Most studies of this factor have concerned themselves with the child's aspirations and not that of the parents. As we pointed out in the chapter on peer group influence, parents' neighborhood interaction may play a key role in shaping the child's educational achievement.

Table 9-1 shows the distribution of responses by the mothers of our sample to the questions on educational aspiration. The modal category is "college graduate," forty-three per cent of the respondents giving this answer. Adding the other higher categories we find forty-nine per cent want their children to graduate from college or go beyond. This finding is especially interesting when compared to the questions on occupational aspirations where only twenty-six per cent selected an occupation (higher white collar) which clearly required a four year college degree. Evidently, our respondents put considerable emphasis on educational achievement for their children.

Educational Aspiration, Income, Race, and Education

Let us see if there are differences in educational aspiration for people from higher and lower income areas using our prior neighborhood definitions as a measure of socio-economic status of the area and dichotimizing families into those aspiring to a college degree or more for their children and all others (see Table 9-2). The total column indicates that there is no strong relationship between parents' aspirations and socio-economic level of the neighborhood except at highest level. This finding is consistent with other studies that report the effects of neighborhood to be stronger in the higher socio-economic areas than in lower ones. However, it has also been found in some studies that Negroes have higher aspiration levels than whites, and we find this to be true also in the study. Fifty-one per cent of Negro mothers want college education or more for their children as compared to 32 per cent for white groups who are matched on neighborhoods. When whites only are considered the neighborhood effects are accentuated.

It might be argued that Negroes have higher educational aspirations than whites in the same neighborhood because Negroes are better educated, since in both the low and moderately low areas this is the case. (See the numbers reported in Table 9-3.) We shall examine this possibility by seeing whether there is a relation between respondent's education and her educational aspiration, but another explanation may be that because of prejudice Negroes require more education to live in a given area than whites do to live in that same area.

Respondent's education is examined along with race and neighborhood level as they affect educational aspirations in

Table 9-1

Per Cent of Mothers Saying How Much Education Is Enough for Their Child

	Per Cent
Some High School	02
Finish High School	14
Trade or Technical	25
1 - 2 Years of College	10
Finish College	43
Finish College or More	01
Professional School	03
Graduate School	02
	100%
	(1530)

Table 9-2

Per Cent of Parents Who Want a College Degree or More For Their Child, by Race, by Neighborhood Achievement Norms

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	White	Negro
Low	(66) 30	(279) 51
Moderately Low	(291) 33	(381) 51
Moderately High	(344) 47	(0) --
High	(169) 79	(0) --

Table 9-3

Per Cent of Mothers Wanting College Degree or More For Their Child by Race, Education, and Neighborhood Achievement Norms

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Mother's Education	White	Negro
Low	Low *	31 (54)	47 (213)
	High **	25 (12)	64 (66)
Moderately Low	Low	30 (250)	47 (270)
	High	48 (41)	62 (111)
Moderately High	Low	42 (151)	00 (0)
	High	52 (193)	-- (0)
High	Low	58 (43)	-- (0)
	High	86 (126)	-- (0)

* Low is defined as less than a high school degree.
** High is defined as high school degree or more.

Table 9-3. We can see that all of these factors--neighborhood, education, and race--seem to enter into the parents' aspirations but not in a simple way. For instance, the effects of neighborhood on aspiration appears primarily among white families, the better educated, and the higher socio-economic neighborhoods. For the Negro families there are no neighborhood effects. The dominant factor is education of the mothers: the higher their education, the higher their aspiration for the child. Nevertheless, the Negro families of equal education in the same areas have higher aspirations than white families.

The complex of factors appearing to operate on educational aspirations of mothers is subject to rather direct interpretations if we pose several general conditions of American society. First, education is viewed as an instrument for achieving occupational success (and therefore most other kinds). The educational ladder is a more open structure than the occupational one.1/ Where people become aware that their occupational paths are blocked, they will systematically stress education to compensate. Awareness of blockage to upward mobility is then a major motivating force which turns people toward education in American society.

A second major source pressing on educational aspirations is the effort families make to maintain their current status or get ahead. Making the same assumptions about the instrumentality of education for occupational success, parents who want their children to move up or remain in the same status position will encourage them to get more education than the parents had. This means that the highly educated parent will encourage his child to get even more education; the wealthier and more successful the parent the more education he will generally want for his child.

These two sources of social pressure for education at first may seem to be contradictory. Presumably, the high status parent is less blocked and hence should have less pressure for high educational aspirations, although the high status parent will want his children to keep up or get ahead and will encourage more education. This seeming contradiction is resolved if we note that those blocked must be aware of the social nature of this blockage, i.e., they do not assign it to bad luck, personal inadequacy, individual maliciousness, etc. We hypothesize that groups become aware of social blockage where they are subject to systematic limitations from customary roles or where they occupy ascribed roles defined as illegitimate. We offer two examples. First, occupational prejudice against Negroes is considered morally wrong in northern urban areas, and the Negro is educated to believe that it is wrong and that people should be judged by their ability. As a consequence, the Negro becomes systematically aware that he is being blocked from achieving occupational equality. As Merton has pointed out (68) there are many alternatives to this blockage. If the educational ladder is more open than the occupational one (e.g., high school is free but getting into the skilled trades is almost impossible) and if a higher education gives an individual an employment advantage, then there is institutional pressure for the Negro to put great value on education. Put somewhat differently, a Negro with a high school education may be able to compete on the same level as a white man with a grade school education.

A second case in point involves sex roles. Ordinarily women do not view education as instrumental for successful female careers. Marriage is generally viewed as the chief means for achieving status. Though education relates to some extent to the type of man one can attract, it is not necessarily a strong relationship. A wife may have a less education than her husband. Education becomes especially important to a woman for occupational purposes where her husband becomes unemployed, dies, or leaves, and where she has to work. Even if she does not work but goes on welfare and is the head of the household, she becomes aware of the relationship between education and economic success. We suspect that she becomes more sensitive because becoming the head of the household is somewhat of a role reversal for a woman. In such a situation, a mother therefore will be more alert to getting a good education for her daughter than other mothers since she will recognize that education is not only an avenue by which a girl finds a husband from the proper status level but that it is a safeguard in case one's husband no longer is able to support the family.

The above analysis suggests two bases for the higher aspirations of Negro families. The male is occupationally discriminated against and is therefore more likely to see the functional utility of education. The female is subject to the same influence and, in addition, to the need for education should she become head of the household and need to work if the family is to survive. We can indirectly examine both these hypotheses.

Sex of Child and Mother's Educational Aspiration

We look first at the effects of the child's sex on mother's aspirations. In Table 9-4 we use inner and outer city areas as two gross categories of "neighborhood" instead of the four previously used. We examine in Table 9-4 the relations of these variables on aspirations for a college degree or higher educational level. Looking first at the differences between Negro and white parents, we note that the unweighted difference for Negroes and whites matching on education, sex, and neighborhood is an average

Table 9-4

Per Cent of Mothers Who Want a College Degree or More For Their Child by Sex of Child, Race, Education, and Inner and Outer City

	Inner City			
	White		Negro	
Mother's Education	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Low	(154) 31	(150) 29	(242) 46	(222) 48
High	(35) 54	(18) 22	(74) 61	(103) 64
	Outer City			
Low	(101) 57	(95) 32	(0) --	(0) --
High	(174) 75	(145) 53	(0) --	(0) --

of twenty-one per cent higher for Negroes. Looking at the differences by sex, we can see the average Negro-white difference for mothers of the boys in our sample is eleven per cent whereas the average difference for mothers with girls is thirty per cent. In other words, one major reason for the difference in aspiration between Negro and white parents is the differential emphasis these parents put on girls.

Similar findings have sometimes been interpreted to reflect a matriarchal structure in the Negro family. Without denying a possible influence of this sort from historical circumstance of the Negro (a slave heritage, in fact and de facto), it seems sensible to interpret this as reflecting as well the Negro female's greater economic role because their husbands may be unemployed. There is some evidence for this interpretation in the finding because the parent of the Negro girl does not really have higher aspirations for her than the parent of the boys. Furthermore, the areas of poorly educated whites (whose incomes match those of better educated Negro families) show similar results, i.e., they too show almost the same aspirations for boys as girls. Both the Negro group and the poorly educated whites in turn have different patterns than the high educated whites in the inner city or the outer city whites. In these cases the parents of boys show higher educational aspirations than those of girls. On the average parents wants a college degree or more for boys 23 per cent more often than for girls. The differences between Negro and white families on this measure of educational aspiration can be pinpointed by saying they revolve around the high educated white parent of girls and the high educated Negro parents of girls in the inner city.

If we examine the results for boys, we see that within each race the more educated the parent the higher the aspirations for the sons. This can be taken as evidence that higher status, resources, and knowledge all lead to higher aspirations. The differences between Negroes and whites and between girls and boys are evidence to support the hypothesis that sensitivity to occupational blockages causes systematic emphasis on education in our society where the educational ladder is relatively open.

It is sometimes argued that Negro or low income parents who have high educational aspirations are fanciful or unrealistic. We have suggested that their aspirations indicate a realization that the education ladder is the only route to economic success. As such, we would contend that the Negro parents' stress on education has a strong reality base. To examine this issue we asked mothers the following:

"What are (NAME OF CHILD)'s chances of finishing high school? Excellent, Very Good, Good, Fair, or Poor?"

This question differs from the earlier one in that it asks for a realistic estimate rather than what is thought was desirable.

We see, first, in Table 9-5 that the Negro mother has lower expectations than white parents that their children will complete high school. Furthermore, if we compare Negro and white groups with similar economic resources (e.g., the poorly educated white with the highly educated Negro) we find that expectations for finishing school is almost the same. The Negro parent does not overestimate but seems to have a "realistic" assessment as to the chances of his child finishing high school. We think his educational aspiration, higher than that of the white family, is also a realistic assessment of what his child will have to do if he wants occupational equality with the white child of similar status. The fact that his expectations are lower than those of the white family of similar status is a realistic appraisal that the child might not be able to obtain these goals.2/

If we look at differences by sex in Table 9-5, there seem to be additional factors operating. The parents of Negro girls have greater educational expectations than parents of Negro boys. If this is interpreted to reflect a matriarchal family structure, the same thing might be said for white outer city families as well. Again, we think this reflects a realistic appraisal. Boys are more likely than girls to get in trouble and drop, or be pushed, out of school regardless of their mothers' aspiration. Furthermore, boys can more readily get "regular" jobs at a younger age than girls. Also, there is more social acceptance of boys going off on their own at an earlier age.

That the Negro family feels it must have greater education in order to achieve the same occupational level is made further plausible by examination of the item on occupational aspirations. If it turns out that Negro parents have the same occupational aspirations for children as white families in similar circumstances, the chain of evidence for our hypothesis is completed.

In our measurement of occupational aspirations we used a technique similar to that on educational aspirations that would reveal what the parents would be willing to settle for rather than tapping the more abstract status scale. We started out by asking the parent:

"By the time (NAME OF CHILD) is about your age, would you think he (HER HUSBNAD*) was doing well enough if he had a job

---

*When the child was a girl we asked this question about her future husband or the respondent's son-in-law.

Table 9-5

Per Cent of Mothers Who Say Their Child Has an Excellent Chance of Finishing High School by Race, Sex of Child, Inner and Outer City, Education of Mother

	Inner City			
	White		Negro	
Mother's Education	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Low	(154) 14	(150) 17	(242) 08	(241) 13
High	(35) 40	(18) 28	(74) 11	(103) 26
	Outer City			
Low	(101) 26	(95) 37	(0) --	(0) --
High	(174) 51	(145) 60	(0) --	(0) --

> like driving a truck or working on the assembly line?"

If the respondent said "no," she was asked:

> "Suppose he was a skilled worker such as an electrician or foreman in a factory--would you think he was doing well enough then?"

If the respondent said "no" again, she was asked:

> "If he was an office worker or salesman in a store, would you think he was doing well enough then?"

If the respondent still said "no," she was asked:

> "What kind of job would be a good one?"

The responses were classified into five categories: low manual occupation (unskilled and semiskilled); high manual (skilled) occupation; low non-manual occupation (store salesman); and high non-manual occupation not controlled by education (such as athlete, musician, actor, etc.); and other high non-manual occupation (manager, proprietor, etc.). We dichotimized the responses on the basis of the occupational aspirations of all those saying high non-manual jobs (excluding athletes, etc.) or higher. This means the respondent had to reject the first three items above and in the fourth item suggest a proprietor, a semi-professional, a professional, or a managerial job.

If we examine Table 9-6, we find Negro and white families showing almost identical occupational aspirations in the respective areas. On the average, six per cent more Negro parents want high non-manual jobs than white parents.

This is strong support for the interpretation that the educational aspiration of the Negro parent is a realistic reaction to limitations the Negro faces because of discrimination and prejudices. He recognizes that to get the same job as the white he must have a better education. The Negro respondent does not have greater expectations that his child will finish school, nor does he have significantly greater occupational aspirations.3/

There is additional confirming evidence in Table 9-6. For each comparison, mothers of daughters have lower aspirations than mothers of sons. We had sought to avoid the problem of sex differentiation by asking the mother to evaluate a hypothetical son-in-law's occupation rather than her daughter's. From the way the question was answered, we are forced to conclude that many of the

Table 9-6

Per Cent Who Want Child to Have a "High White Collar" Job by Race, Sex of Child, Education of Mother, and Inner and Outer City

	Inner City			
	White		Negro	
Mother's Education	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Low	(156) 19	(151) 04	(243) 22	(241) 08
High	(35) 44	(18) 16	(74) 36	(103) 24
	Outer City			
Low	(101) 34	(95) 14	(0) --	(0) --
High	(174) 56	(145) 40	(0) --	(0) --

respondents answered in terms of their daughters. We can think of no other reason why a lower occupation was mentioned for sons-in-law.4/ The alternative would be to believe that mothers do not want their daughters to have husbands in as good occupations as their sons. It could be argued (following the hypothesis of a matriarchal family) that the son-in-law is not viewed as crucial because the daughter will be the breadwinner. However, it can be seen in Table 9-6 that the white middle class family also tends to indicate lower occupations for the son-in-law than for the son. Nobody has suggested that such families are matriarchal.

If the mothers did, in fact, answer this question in terms of daughters and not of sons-in-law, it is clear that the mothers have higher occupational aspirations for sons than for daughters. If occupational aspirations are taken in conjunction with the educational ones, they suggest that mothers exposed to the necessity to work may want to protect their daughters by urging greater education for them. The findings on occupational aspiration suggest, however, that the mothers do not expect for the girls to become the main breadwinner in higher occupations but rather to take some white collar job where family income can, if necessary, be supplemented.

What we conclude from the above findings is that parents' educational aspirations are shaped by at least two major forces: (1) the desire to increase or maintain their present social position, i.e., the higher the education and status of the family the higher parents' aspirations; and (2) the desire to overcome prejudice or modifications in traditional roles (e.g., wife assuming the head of household, etc.).

For a substantial part of our low income population, there is no need to make them sensitive to the importance of education; they already are aware of it. For another part of the low income population--the low educated whites--such sensitivity may be crucial.

Mother's Educational Aspiration for Child and Child's Reading Achievement Level

We may now turn to the relationship between neighborhood reading achievement norms and the commitment of parents to educational goals. If we refer to Table 9-2, we can recall that Negroes in the low achievement normed neighborhoods have a higher explicit commitment to education than white groups except those in the very highest normed neighborhood. This strongly suggests that the achievement norms of the neighborhood are shaped by factors other than those of parental commitment to the idea of education.

What is implied is that other values, other aspects of family structure, or of neighborhood milieu, and other problems of school facilities intervene and cause the child to do poorly despite the good intentions of the parents. The achievement norms of these low income areas may well be latent. In the following chapters we will pursue some of these considerations.

We should not, then, expect a strict correspondence between educational aspirations and reading achievement norms. Let us examine their relationship in Table 9-7. In the table we can see that a mother's educational aspirations have some influence on the child's reading skills even when race and achievement norm of the neighborhood are controlled. For all eight comparisons between mothers with high and low aspirations, the category where the mother has higher aspirations shows a reading score that is higher. It can also be seen that mothers' aspirations make more difference in the high achievement norm neighborhood than in the lower ones. In the outer city neighborhoods, the average difference is 7.4 months, or over half a year. In the inner city, the average difference is 1.8 months. Families at the lower economic levels might have so much of their time and energy devoted to sheer maintenance that they cannot use available advantages.

This point is highlighted to some extent by the relative strength of family and neighborhood variables. If we take the unweighted average differences between mothers with high and low aspirations as a measure of the strength of aspirations (all other things being equal), we find that there is a 3.7 month advantage in reading skill to the child whose mother has high aspirations. If we use the same type of measure to examine the neighborhood effect (all other factors being equal), we find that living in a higher achievement normed neighborhood on the average gives the child a 5.2 month advantage. This difference would grow to almost ten months if we use only the gross neighborhood classification of the inner and outer city. Since the inner city neighborhoods are the ones most economically depressed, the fact that neighborhood differences play a larger role than mother's aspirations gives weight to the view that the family must be above a minimum economic level to permit its advantages (in this case higher education) to take effect.

In the foregoing discussion we have not dealt with the direction of the relationships observed. To what extent is the mother's aspiration conditioned by the child's school performance rather than vice versa? To this we have no clear answer. It may indeed be true that the causal direction is the child's school performance. Obviously, where a child is sub-normal, the mother may lower her aspirations; if her child does consistently out-

Table 9-7

Reading Achievement by Mother's Educational Aspirations, Race, and Neighborhood Achievement Norms

		White		Negro	
	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	Mother Wants College Degree or More	Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	Mother Wants College Degree or More
INNER CITY	Low	(46) -13.0	(20) -12.3	(138) -16.1	(141) -14.1
	Moderately Low	(196) -10.1	(95) - 6.8	(185) -12.3	(196) -11.1
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	(180) - 2.5	(164) + 4.2	(0) --	(0) --
	High	(36) + 1.1	(133) + 9.3	(0) --	(0) --

outstanding work or consistently poor work she might raise or lower her aspirations accordingly. However, it is also possible that parents' aspirations may not depend on the child's school performance. The fact that aspirations are related to factors such as education, sex of the child, and race of the mother, all of which clearly precede the child's school performance, is one obvious indication of other sources of parental aspirations. It should be noted, also, that our measure is of the Iowa tested reading skill of the child and not of his school grades. The former measure is less likely to cause the parents to change their views since it is but moderately correlated with reading grades which is all the parents can observe. We do not mean to overstate the case but only say that to some extent the child is influenced by the parents' aspirations. We do not deny that the reverse effect may also occur.

We should also consider the education of the mother before coming to conclusions about the effect of mother's aspiration to the child. As shown in earlier tables, the mother's aspiration is clearly related to her education. In prior chapters we saw that the mother's education is also related to reading skills of the child. We must now show they both contribute to the reading skills of the child. Table 9-8 presents the data.

With the inclusion of mother's education there are now twelve comparisons between mothers with high educational aspirations and those with low aspirations. In ten of the twelve comparisons children with mothers of high aspirations show higher mean reading scores than those with low aspirations. These mothers have been matched on race, education, and neighborhood achievement norn. The two exceptions show no particular pattern, i.e., one consists of higher educated whites in the low norm area and the other of low educated Negroes in the moderately low area. The average impact of mother's aspiration when they are matched on education has been reduced from 3.7 to 2.8 months, but the pattern of responses suggests sufficient independence to warrant retaining the mother's aspirations for future analysis.

To complete our analysis we consider the sex of the child. We pointed out earlier that Negro and white families in the low economic level have equivalent aspirations for boys and for girls. Outer city families and better educated white inner city families, by contrast, show greater stress on education for boys than for girls. Table 9-9 presents the results of the analysis. If we look at the differences between boys and girls we can see that in seven out of eleven comparisons (one tie) the girls do better than the boys. In other words, girls have only a slight advantage in reading skills. This would be meaningful if we could show that

Table 9-8

Reading Achievement by Mother's Educational Aspirations, Race, Education, Neighborhood Achievement Norm

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Mother's Education	White		Negro	
			Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	Mother Wants College Degree or More	Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	Mother Wants College Degree or More
INNER CITY	Low	Low	-13.8 (37)	-11.7 (17)	-16.6 (114)	-15.2 (99)
		High	- 9.4 (9)	-15.7 (3)	-13.7 (24)	-11.2 (42)
INNER CITY	Moderately Low	Low	-10.6 (175)	- 7.7 (75)	-12.9 (143)	-13.7 (127)
		High	- 6.2 (21)	- 3.3 (20)	-10.6 (42)	- 6.2 (69)

(continued on next page)

Table 9-8 (continued)

Reading Achievement by Mother's Educational Aspirations, Race, Education, Neighborhood Achievement Norm

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Mother's Education	White: Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	White: Mother Wants College Degree or more	Negro: Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	Negro: Mother Wants College Degree or More
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	Low	- 5.3 (88)	+ 0.1 (63)	-- (0)	-- (0)
		High	+ 0.2 (92)	+ 6.7 (101)	-- (0)	-- (0)
OUTER CITY	High	Low	- 3.6 (18)	+ 3.8 (25)	-- (0)	-- (0)
		High	+ 5.8 (18)	+10.6 (108)	-- (0)	-- (0)

Table 9-9

Reading Achievement by Mother's Educational Aspirations, Sex of Child, Race, Education, Inner and Outer City

		White			
		Boys		Girls	
Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Mother's Education	Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	Mother Wants College Degree Or More	Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	Mother Wants College Degree Or More
Inner City (Low and Moderately Low)	Low	-12.8 (106)	- 9.0 (48)	- 9.5 (106)	- 7.8 (44)
	High	- 4.0 (16)	- 5.9 (19)	-10.8 (14)	0.0 (4)
Outer City (High and Moderately High)	Low	- 4.2 (43)	- 0.8 (57)	- 5.6 (63)	+ 4.8 (31)
	High	+ 0.1 (42)	+ 7.3 (132)	+ 1.8 (68)	+11.0 (77)

(continued on next page)

Table 9-9 (continued)

Reading Achievement by Mother's Educational Aspirations, Sex of Child, Race, Education, Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Mother's Education	Negro Boys Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	 Mother Wants College Degree Or More	 Girls Mother Wants Less Than a College Degree	 Mother Wants College Degree or More
Inner City (Low and Moderately Low)	Low	-15.0 (131)	-14.1 (111)	-14.1 (126)	-14.6 (115)
	High	-11.7 (29)	- 5.7 (45)	-11.7 (37)	-10.0 (66)

the superiority of the girls occurs amongst the Negro families. However, when we look at the Negro families we find that the reverse is more likely the case. The boys do better than the girls in two out of three cases and in one case they are tied. Furthermore, the superiority of the boys is most clearly seen where the parents have high aspirations. There does seem to be some evidence that for the white families where the mother has a high aspiration, the girls read better than the boys.

It should also be noted from Table 9-9 that the introduction of the child's sex does not change the direction of our previous findings. In ten out of twelve instances, mothers with higher educational aspirations have children who read better than those with lower aspirations even when the children are matched on sex. In eleven out of twelve instances the mother who is better educated has a child who reads better than the mother who is poorly educated. In eight out of eight instances the mother living in the outer city has children who read better than those living in the inner city even when they are matched on education, aspiration, and sex.

Summary and Conclusion

With this table we can conclude our discussion on the explicit educational goals of the mother. There are several points made in this chapter. First, there is some relationship between the educational goals of the mother and the child's actual reading achievement. Secondly, the educational goals of the parent seem to be shaped by at least two major forces. First, the mother's educational background and resources appear to sensitize her to the child's needs. Thus mothers who went to college and who have good economic resources are more likely to have higher educational aspirations for their children.

The second point involves the assumption that in American society the educational ladder is more open than the occupational one so that any group aware that it is being blocked can seek to maintain or change its economic standing by becoming better educated. From this viewpoint, we point out that the higher educational aspiration of the Negro mother is not unrealistic, but functional. To support this point we showed that the Negro mother did not have higher occupational aspirations than the white. We also pointed out that she did not have higher expectations that her child would succeed than the white. In other words, the Negro mother had higher educational aspirations but within a framework where job goals were close to those of the white. This seems to be a realistic (if a somewhat unfortunate) estimate of the Negro's situation in our society, viz., he needs more education to get the same job! We demonstrated the same point using the concept of role reversal of females. Where a woman needs to work or becomes the head of the household, she becomes more sensitive to the value of education for girls.

This discussion highlights one central consideration that we shall emphasize as we proceed. The explicit desires of the parent are not necessarily the best estimate of what the child learns. The Negro families with the highest aspirations tend to have children with the reading skills poorer than children in white families. We shall argue that this is in large measure a function of the poor neighborhood that the Negro families live in which, in turn, means poorer teaching facilities, fewer family resources, less city services, different forms of discipline, etc. We shall try to show that such factors in turn may force the mother into actions which actually contradict her stated value preference.

Finally, our discussion suggests that we may be dealing with two quite distinctive populations in the inner city. For the Negro families there is comparatively little need to demonstrate the value of education although they may need some other kind of aid. The same thing cannot be said of the white population in the inner city. For them, the need to inculcate educational values seems more important.

Footnotes

1. A child can go through high school free. In fact, all of the social norms encourage it. By contrast, it would be much more difficult to get into one of the skilled trades such as the plumbers, electricians, movie projector operators, etc. In fact, for the Negro child, it may be easier to get into college than to get into skilled trades.

2. This inference is based on "ecological correlations" and therefore must be treated with caution. The data are suggestive but we do not have here a direct comparison between those with high aspirations and with high expectations, etc.

3. We are again dealing with an ecological relationship and therefore the evidence is only suggestive.

4. Miriam Gallaher points out that an alternative interpretation would be that there is indeed a greater preference for boys over girls in our society in that the boy carries the family name and tradition, etc., in which case we would have to assume that the answer to the item was really addressed to the son-in-law rather than the daughter.

5. The reader can also note that the neighborhood effects remain when both education and aspiration are considered. The effects of race remain as well.

Chapter 10

One Factor Reasoning, Punitive Socialization, and the Interlocking Web of Community and Family Influence

In our analysis of the family we have examined its educational goals and, in the process, shown that families do not necessarily implement its goals. In this and following chapters, we try to trace the mode of socialization used by families to implement educational goals and show how the modes used may modify the goals. Furthermore, we seek to explore the interlock between family and community so as to show that families have limited choices in the type of socializing experience that the child undergoes.

These subjects bear on the relationship of a generic educational process to a major dimension of socialization, namely, the capacity to use many factors, rather than only one, in coming to a decision. The socialization process procedure in which this process is examined is the use of force and punishment in disciplining the child.

By multi-facet reasoning we refer to the processes whereby several different ideas are jointly considered in thinking before a conclusion is reached about the merits of some problem. The ability to manipulate a variety of different ideas at once is, we believe, one of the qualities necessary to succeed on the educational ladder. Individuals who use a single factor thinking are handicapped. They are less able to make use of the experience of others and hence to short circuit the trial and error process. They are not in a position to bring as much information as quickly into the decision making process.

One source of evidence about differences in reasoning processes between better educated and less educated persons is in studies of communications during World War II. One study sought to determine the type of message that would be most influential in convincing the troops in Europe that the war must still continue with Japan, even after Germany's defeat.(38) The investigators sought to find out whether it would be more convincing to use a message presenting only one side of the argument or a message that presented two sides. What they found was that it depended on education. Those who had higher education responded most to messages with both sides presented, and were suspicious if both sides were not offered. However, the less educated found the presentation of both sides confusing. If the respondent supported the purpose of the argument prior to getting the message, his confusion reduced support. If the respondent was not sympathetic, his opposition was reduced. From our point of view the study serves well to suggest what we believe to be important systematic differences in reasoning processes for the educated and the uneducated. The educated person is taught to consider many facets before coming to a decision, whereas the less educated is taught a more unitary point of view and tends to stick to it. We might say that the more educated person is taught to carry on an internal debate while the less well educated person is less likely to manipulate symbols internally.

The question we pose is whether anything in the family and community systematically forces some children into a one-factor type of reasoning while others are encouraged to develop a multi-factor process. Some students have suggested that one element related to concept manipulation is the authoritative use of physical force or punishment as the chief procedure for socialization. By punitive we mean situations where the socializing agent is able to force the child to change his behavior by unilateral action. One basic reason this form of discipline is thought to have limiting effects is that it presents a decision making model to the child where there is no recourse to reason or discussion. It deprives the child of practice in making a variety of decisions in his daily encounters with significant others. The child deprived of this everyday practice is at an educational disadvantage. Where authority uses superior force to shape decisions, there is minimum exchange of ideas and minimum practice in concept manipulation. Even arguments have the unintended virtue of requiring exchange of ideas.

A second reason why the use of physical or punitive forms of socialization may adversely affect the educational process is that they can often interfere with the teaching process. Children socialized to utilize force as their chief mode of meeting a situation of choice can keep a teacher busy maintaining order. By contrast, verbal disputes, if nothing else, provide participants and onlookers with models of concept manipulation. In addition, verbal disputes can frequently be diverted to educationally relevant topics.

We would qualify these points to indicate that we do not consider the use of physical force or punitive forms of socialization always bad. In circumstances where the child has basically internalized the goals of the parents but is considering a minor indiscretion, a modest threat of punishment may well act as a deterrent and reinforce the norm. Such use of force in situations where the child has not internalized the values of the parent might, in contrast, lead only to opportunistic temporary compliance. We are not, of course, referring to that degree of force which is so inclusive and overwhelming that it may--as studies of concentration camps have shown (4)--actually cause the subject to internalize the values of the user of force. We refer to the familiar physical punishments--slaps, shaking, spankings--that parents may apply after a mis-deed. We are suggesting that the use of modest force over trivial or modest problems may be successful but that the use of modest force for serious problems is likely to be unsuccessful. It is the latter situation that we think prevails among the typical family that uses force in our society as the major socialization device. It is the former that we think holds for the typical family that uses more conceptual processes as the chief mode of discipline. Either mode of discipline is, we believe, pervasive in the more general socialization experiences of the child in the family.

We are theorizing that one factor reasoning is not conducive to success in the educational world and that the greater use of physical force or punitive in socialization is likely to lead to one factor reasoning. We would like to add that control over the mode of discipline is only partly in the hands of the family.

Parents may prefer conceptual socialization rather than physical force, but the neighborhood may be one where adult or child peer group members emphasize physical force. In some areas there may be considerable crime and parents in their dealings with others have to expect to use force even though they may provide a model for the child different from the ones the parents prefer.

The use of conceptual modes of control may be easier for wealthy than for poor families. Wealthy families have a much larger supply of "rewards" to offer the child who may thereby be more responsive to the parent. By contrast, poorer families may find force as their only real source for getting the child's attention. The wealthier family may have more time and energy to give to the socialization processes and it is probably true that conceptual forms of socialization require more time and energy than physical forms of punishment. Finally, the occupations of the parents provide a model for the child and a pattern of interpersonal action for the parent. Heavy stress on physical labor, being subject to orders without consultation, and similar occupational conditions may stimulate the parent and the child to accept physical and coercive methods in their dealings with others. We are saying that the family is only partly in control of the socialization processes. Low income families living in low income areas may be so interlocked with the neighborhood and occupational world that their child rearing procedures will be affected by forces beyond their knowledge or control. To change the family socialization problem may require basic changes in their economic and ecological situations.

It is in the framework here developed that we turn to the examination of forms of family discipline, their sources and supports, and their relationship to reading achievement.

Family Forms of Discipline and Reading Scores

We start our analysis with the most explicit and obvious form of socialization--the parent's own reported form of disciplining the child.

Discipline for Poor Report Card

To investigate this question in specific reference to education, we asked parents the following question:

> "If (CHILD'S NAME) came home with a poor report card, how would you handle the problem--that is, which one of the things on this next card (SHOW CARD 6) comes closest to what you would do? If you would do more than one thing, give me your first and second choices.
>
> a. Give a good bawling out
> b. Take something or some privilege away
> c. Give a good spanking
> d. Go to school and speak with the teacher
> e. Spend extra time with the child on school work
> f. Something else--what?"

If the respondent gave any of the first three responses as her first choice (bawl out, take away privilege, or spank), we classified her as using an "expedient-punitive" procedure. If the respondent gave any other designated response, then she was classified as using a "conceptual-explanatory" procedure. Since we have already indicated that race and education of the mother, as well as neighborhood, affect the reading skills of the child, we shall present our findings on discipline with these factors controlled. However, to reduce the complexity of the tables so as to focus on the variable of discipline, we shall frequently confine the neighborhood control to the distinction between inner and outer city.

Table 10-1 shows the results of reported forms of discipline with these controls. We see that in five out of the six possible comparisons, where parents use an explanatory-conceptual form of discipline, the children read better than if punitive

Table 10-1

Reading Achievement by Parent's Use of Punitive or Explanatory Discipline for Poor Report Card Grades, by Neighborhood, Race, and Education

Race and Education	Inner City		Outer City	
	Punitive--Non-Conceptual	Explanatory Conceptual	Punitive--Non-Conceptual	Explanatory Conceptual
White Low Education	-11.2 (89)	-10.0 (215)	- 5.5 (56)	- 0.1 (138)
White High Education	- 8.3 (12)	- 5.6 (41)	+ 6.0 (73)	+ 6.1 (246)
Negro Low Education	-15.7 (196)	-13.7 (286)		
Negro High Education	-12.8 (48)	- 8.4 (129)		

non-conceptual discipline is used. All the relationships discussed in earlier chapters, such as race, education, and neighborhood, retain their reported effects as well. The effects of discipline can be roughly measured by taking the average difference between the two groups of parents. On the average there is a 2.6 month reading skill advantage to the child if his parent uses a conceptual form of discipline rather than a punitive one, with the indicated other factors controlled.

The exception in Table 10-1 falls in the high education outer city category. We pointed out in the introduction to this chapter that punishment might be a successful socialization device where the problems are modest (e.g., the child has basically internalized the values of education) and the parent has strong enough forms of punishment available (e.g., can provide a real threat because they have something to withhold). The group where mode of discipline made no difference in reading score was exactly such a group--the highly educated families living in the outer city.

If we can differentiate within this group those children who have internalized the values of education or those parents who are likely to use more than the normal degree of punishment, the relationship between reading skills of the child and the mode of disciplining should be as follows:

(a) For children who have internalized educational values, punishment should be related positively to reading skills, while

(b) For children who have not internalized values punishment should be related negatively to reading skills.

We do not have direct measures of either the child's internalization of educational achievement or the parent's willingness to use special punishment tactics. However, we can use as an indirect index the parent's educational aspirations for the child. If we can assume that in this outer city neighborhood with its high achievement norm, the parents with the highest aspirations will be more successful in internalizing educational achievement in their child or more willing to utilize the pressure of punishment to keep the child who has internalized the norm in line, then we can test the above hypothesis.

In Table 10-2 we have taken this sub-group and divided the population by mother's educational aspirations. For parents with high educational aspirations, those who use punitive forms of discipline have children who do better than those who do not (+10.9

Table 10-2

Reading Achievement Among Children of Highly Educated Mothers in the Outer City, by Educational Aspirations of the Mother

	Educational Aspirations Low*	Educational Aspirations High**
Punitive Discipline	(27) -2.4	(46) +10.9
Explanatory Discipline	(83) +8.1	(163) + 8.1

---

* Low educational aspirations means less than a college degree.
** High educational aspirations means college degree or more.

vs. +8.1). By contrast, parents with low educational aspirations show the opposite. Those who use punitive forms of discipline have children who do worse than those who use explanatory forms (-2.4 vs. +8.1).

The role of the neighborhood is not denied by this analysis. We suggest that parents in the higher normed neighborhoods can risk the use of punishment in part because they have a milieu which provides constant reinforcement for multi-factor reasoning. Highly educated parents who live in a contrary milieu might, whatever their aspirations, find that punitive forms of discipline led to negative consequence.

Discipline for Joining a Gang

In order to examine the extent to which discipline in one area is related to other areas, and to test the previous findings on a different item, we use another direct question on disciplining the child. We asked:

> "If (NAME OF CHILD) had done something very bad--like joining a gang that beat up other children--which of the following things most nearly describes what you would do? If you would do more than one thing, give me your first and second choices. (SHOW CARD 5.)
>
> a. Give a good bawling out
> b. Take something or some privilege away
> c. Give a good spanking
> d. Explain why it was wrong
> e. Call the police
> f. Something else--what?"

In the analysis in Table 10-3 we use only first choices of respondents, dichotomized by taking all those who chose "explain" as indicating primarily explanatory-conceptual modes of disciplining, and all other responses (i.e., give a good bawling out, take some privilege away, give a good spanking, call the police, or something else) as indicating punitive-non-conceptual procedures. With the same controls as before, it can be seen that in four out of the six comparisons the results are in the same direction for the question examined earlier. The parents who said they would use punitive forms of discipline had children with lower reading scores. However, the results are more muted on this item. For instance, the average difference in reading skills between children whose parents use punitive and those using explanatory modes of disciplining is only 1.4 months. The deviant cases are again

Table 10-3

Reading Achievement by Parent's Use of Punitive or Explanatory Discipline for Child Joining Gangs, by Neighborhood, and Education

	Inner City		Outer City	
Race and Education	Punitive-- Non-Conceptual	Explanatory Conceptual	Punitive-- Non-Conceptual	Explanatory Conceptual
White Low Education	(181) -10.5	(123) -10.0	(87) - 1.2	(107) - 3.1
White High Education	(33) - 9.1	(20) - 1.4	(139) + 6.5	(180) + 5.8
Negro Low Education	(297) -15.1	(186) -13.3		
Negro High Education	(96) -10.1	(81) - 8.9		

in the outer city. However, this time both highly educated and poorly educated families are involved.

The same explanation can be used for the deviant cases here as in the prior instance. Punishment is being given in a context where the children have probably internalized the idea that joining gangs which beat up other children is bad. Alternatively, one could argue that joining gangs which beat up other children in this kind of a neighborhood is likely to bring more severe punishment from parents. We may again use as an index of the child's internalization of societal values the parent's educational aspirations for the child. The assumption is that the higher the parent's aspirations the more likely the child is to have internalized societal norms and hence to respond to punishment. If we look at Table 10-4, we can see that the same pattern emerges for the deviant categories that emerged in the previous analysis. Where the parent's educational aspirations are low, punitive modes of discipline relate to lower reading scores; where the parent's educational aspirations are high, punitive modes relate to higher reading skills.

Still another item can be used to measure the type of parent's discipline, an item asked of children that was meant to parallel the item asked of parents. We will note here only that the results of the child's item on discipline paralleled that of the parents four out of six predictions as expected. Some interesting differences between the parent's and child's item will be discussed later.

It suffices now to note that on three separate items we received general confirmation that the use of punitive techniques tend to militate against the reading skill of the child. An exception occurs in neighborhoods where the milieu is very supportive of education and where the parent has probably inculcated educational orientations in the child. In such instances, the use of punitive techniques seems to have some positive effects on reading score.

Neighborhood Variations in Forms of Discipline

In the above discussion we focused on patterns of family discipline without looking at their sources in detail. We now ask how likely a neighborhood is to encourage the use of one form of discipline over another.

If neighborhoods play a role in shaping the parents' modes of socialization, there should be some differences in the percentage who use a given mode in different neighborhoods. We examined

Table 10-4

Reading Achievement by Parent's Use of Punitive or Explanatory Discipline for Child Joining Gangs, by Mother's Educational Aspiration, Race, and Education

(For Outer City White Parents Only)

	Poorly Educated Outer City		Highly Educated Outer City	
	Educational Aspirations Low	Educational Aspirations High	Educational Aspirations Low	Educational Aspirations High
Punitive Discipline	(50) -5.8	(37) +5.1	(51) +0.8	(88) +9.9
Explanatory Discipline	(56) -4.4	(51) -1.6	(59) +1.5	(121) +7.8

the question which asked mothers what they would do if their children joined a gang that beat up other children and can see in Table 10-5 that there are differences between the inner and outer city areas but no consistent differences between the neighborhoods within these grosser categories. Thus, in the inner city, more than 59 per cent of the population said they would use punitive non-conceptual discipline, whereas in the outer city 45 per cent or less so reported.

It is of interest to compare these findings with the responses of children when we asked a parallel question:

> "Suppose you did something very bad--like joining a gang that beat up other children. What would your mother do? (Check one.)
>
> a. Give you a good spanking
> b. Take something away or some privilege away
> c. Give you a good bawling out
> d. Explain why it was wrong
> e. Call the police"

When we looked at the answers we noted that children are more likely than mothers to say the parent uses physical force. Thus, 30 per cent of the children said their mothers would spank them but only 15 per cent of mothers so responded. If there is bias in the mothers' responses, it tends to be conservative in reporting the use of force. However, we suspect that children tend to use the category "spanking" in a general way that is roughly equivalent to the way the parents used several categories that we grouped as "punitive non-conceptual." Therefore, we dichotomized the child's responses into all those saying "give you a good spanking" and all others calling the former "punitive non-conceptualizers."

With the same controls, Table 10-6 shows that children's responses parallel those of the mothers' in Table 10-5. However, the children's responses give a sharper definition of neighborhood effect. Thus, approximately 12 per cent of children living in the outer city say their parents would spank them, whereas 40 per cent say this in the inner city. Note also that on the more detailed neighborhood breakdowns, the proportion of children reporting spanking goes down as the neighborhood level goes up. Furthermore, in children's responses there is the suggestion that the more educated the mother the more likely she is to utilize non-punitive-conceptual modes of discipline. This is not the case, however, in the answers of the parents.1/

Table 10-5

Per Cent of Mothers Reporting the Use of Punitive Discipline if Child Joins a Gang, by Neighborhood, Race, and Education

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm				Total for low and Moderately Low	Total for High and Moderately High
Race and Education	Low Norm	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High Norm	Inner City	Outer City
White Low Education	52 (54)	61 (250)	48 (151)	30 (43)	59 (304)	45 (194)
White High Education	50 (12)	66 (41)	47 (193)	38 (126)	62 (53)	44 (319)
Negro Low Education	51 (213)	66 (270)			62 (483)	
Negro High Education	59 (66)	51 (111)			54 (177)	

Table 10-6

Per Cent of Children Who Say Parents Would Spank Them if They Join a Gang, by Neighborhood, Race, and Education

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm				Total for Low and Moderately Low	Total for High and Moderately High
Race and Education	Low Norm	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High Norm	Inner City	Outer City
White Low Education	(54) 50	(250) 38	(151) 17	(43) 14	(304) 40	(194) 16
White High Education	(12) 50	(41) 34	(193) 12	(126) 06	(53) 38	(319) 10
Negro Low Education	(213) 40	(269) 40			(482) 40	
Negro High Education	(66) 36	(111) 36			(177) 36	

On the basis of all these data we have some confidence that there is at least a gross difference between inner and outer city neighborhoods in the use of punitive forms of control. The form of reporting probably underestimates this difference.

We look at the item in which parents reported what they would do if their children brought home a poor report card in Table 10-7. Here we can see no real neighborhood difference. One might interpret this to mean that school grades are so universally valued that neighborhood and class variations do not appear. We have shown, however, with regard to parents' aspirations that there are neighborhood differences. We are inclined to interpret Table 10-7 as showing that the neighborhood effect is outweighed by mother's education since, when that control is removed, there is a modest difference between inner and outer city categories.

Taking all the evidence together, we feel justified in believing that the inner city neighborhood encourages the development of physical modes of socialization. In the rest of this chapter we will try to trace out some of the processes by which this occurs.

Mode of Socialization and the Child's Peer Group

One obvious mechanism of neighborhood influence that is outside the family is through the child's peer group. The older the child becomes the more likely he is to have peers as models and to be affected by them. They may provide the social interactions of daily decision making more than parents.

We can use several items to get at the peer group influence. Earlier we gave some evidence that peer group encouragement of violence was more typical of the inner city than the outer city. We asked children the question, "In the last year how many times have you beat up kids?" The answers showed that 56 per cent of the children in low normed neighborhoods said they did this one or more times, 53 per cent of those in moderately low neighborhoods said this, 45 per cent in moderately high neighborhoods, and 37 per cent in the high normed neighborhood. A similar trend was noted for items which asked how often best friends got in trouble with the police, and how often the child himself got in trouble with the police. We are suggesting that in the everyday interchange between children, those in the inner city and systematically more exposed to punitive non-conceptual decision making models than those in the outer city. When this supplements the effects of the family, it further hampers conceptual reasoning.

The parents may also be influenced by the "roughness" of

Table 10-7

Per Cent of Mothers Reporting the Use of Punitive Discipline for Poor Report Cards,. by Neighborhood, Race, and Education

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm				Total for Low and Moderately Low	Total for High and Moderately High
Race and Education	Low Norm	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High Norm	Inner City	Outer City
White Low Education	(54) 22	(250) 31	(151) 29	(43) 30	(304) 29	(194) 29
White High Education	(12) 33	(41) 20	(193) 22	(126) 24	(53) 23	(319) 23
Negro Low Education	(213) 36	(269) 44			(482) 41	
Negro High Education	(66) 33	(111) 23			(177) 27	

the neighborhood, and add influence in this manner to the child's view of how problems are handled. In a particularly rough neighborhood adults might have to take precautions to insure their safety and these precautions, observed by the child, might be used as a model. Where there is not adequate police protection, a parent might have to resort to personal protection. He might carry a weapon and if his rights are violated he may use force to protect himself. The idea of personal justice is not, in our society, a legitimate mode of interaction but it may be used where a given neighborhood does not have adequate police protection. The child living in a neighborhood where this is true learns that if he wants to get anything out of life he should be prepared to use force. We are not talking about murder, stealing, or spectacular crimes, but about everyday conversations and interactions that people have with each other. A dispute over a baseball game, a dispute over a borrowed object, an argument over any of the innumerable incidents that happen in ordinary interaction may be occasions for the use of force. The child can readily learn that the person who generally wins is the one who has superior physical force--whether he uses it or not.

In order to get some insight into the use of personal justice we asked the children the following question:

> "Suppose someone tried to hurt your mother. Would she carry a weapon, like a knife or something else, to protect herself, or not?
>
> a. She would carry a knife
> b. She might carry a knife
> c. She would not carry a knife
> d. I don't know"

The answers were dichotomized with those saying their mother "would not carry a knife" classified as not accepting norms of violence and all other responses classified as accepting norms of violence. It should be noted that the "don't know" category was often used. Children answered in some numbers that their mothers would not carry a knife, but few went to the other extreme and said she would definitely carry a knife.

If we look at Table 10-8, we see that there is a tendency for the outer city child, more than the inner city child, to indicate that the mother will not carry a knife or weapon. There is also some indication that the more educated the parent, the less likely the child was to report her as carrying a weapon. But what is most striking in Table 10-8 is the very sharp differences between Negro and white families. Of the low educated white families

Table 10-8

Per Cent of Children Saying "Mother Would Not Carry a Knife or Weapon if Threatened," by Iowa Normed Neighborhood, Race, and Education of Mother

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm				Total for Low and Moderately Low	Total for High and Moderately High
Race and Education	Low Norm	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High Norm	Inner City	Outer City
White Low Education	(54) 52	(250) 42	(151) 46	(43) 63	(304) 43	(194) 49
White High Education	(12) 42	(41) 59	(193) 53	(126) 63	(53) 55	(320) 57
Negro Low Education	(213) 15	(270) 21			(483) 18	
Negro High Education	(66) 20	(111) 27			(177) 24	

living in the inner city 43 per cent said the mother would not carry a knife, whereas 18 per cent of the Negro children said this. If we look at the high educated inner city category, the figures are 55 per cent for the whites and 24 per cent for the Negroes. There is good reason to suggest that this difference is a function of the distrust that Negro families have for the forces of legitimate authority, e.g., the police.

We asked the same question about the father and we can examine the results where fathers are in the home in Table 10-9. The same pattern holds as for mothers.[2] Thus, in the inner city, 33 per cent of the children in the low educated white families reported the father would not carry a knife, whereas the matching Negro group has only 15 per cent. For the high educated families, the whites have 30 per cent who would not carry a knife and the Negro families 19 per cent.

This reported parental behavior seems to have a direct effect on the child's reading skills. Thus, if we look at Table 10-10, we can see that in five out of six comparisons the child who has a parent who would not carry a weapon is likely to read better than the child who says his parent would carry such a weapon. The differences are not, however, very large with economic level, race, and education controlled.

We are not saying that parents in the inner city areas have an explicit policy of using force. Rather they have limited options. To reject the idea that one should carry a weapon to defend himself, it is necessary to be able to call on the police or other legitimate authorities for aid. Yet this option might not be readily available to individuals in low income areas. Indeed, their relations with the police might be such as to make them reluctant to call on them even when they are available. For instance, many Negro families may feel that the police are prejudiced against them and therefore not seek their help.

We shall try to trace out factors such as these to see if they are empirically present because, if so, they suggest a further interlocking of larger community forces to the child's world.

Larger Influences on Socialization

The most obvious interlock with the larger community is economic, and two factors can be mentioned which tie income to the orientations that we have considered relevant to educational success. First, as already mentioned, there is the occupational tie-in which for low income families often tends to involve mostly

Table 10-9

Per Cent of Children Saying "Father Would Not Carry a Weapon if Threatened, by Iowa Normed Neighborhood, Race, and Education of Mother*

Race and Education	Neighborhood Achievement Norm: Low Norm	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High Norm	Total for Low and Moderately Low Inner City	Total for High and Moderately High Outer City
White Low Education	41 (49)	31 (201)	37 (139)	67 (39)	33 (250)	44 (178)
White High Education	00 (8)	37 (32)	45 (179)	54 (118)	30 (40)	49 (297)
Negro Low Education	11 (122)	18 (181)			15 (303)	
Negro High Education	8 (48)	24 (90)			19 (138)	

---

* The population base is different for this Table since not all children had fathers or people who performed that function, e.g., grandfather.

Table 10-10

Reading Achievement by Child's Perception of His Mother Carrying a Weapon if Threatened, by Neighborhood, Race, and Education

Race and Education	Mother Would Not Carry Knife	Mother Might or Would	Mother Would Not Carry Knife	Mother Might or Would
White Low Education	(132) -10.4	(172) -10.3	(96) - 0.7	(98) - 3.8
White High Education	(29) - 5.7	(24) - 6.7	(182) + 6.7	(137) + 5.3
Negro Low Education	(88) -13.2	(395) -14.7		
Negro High Education	(43) - 8.2	(134) -10.0		

physical labor with very little conceptual interchange necessary. Secondly, the common occupations of low income families are usually on the lowest rung of the authority ladder and hence exposed to authority only from above. In short, adults in such families are frequently subject to the model of single factor reasoning in which authoritative statements are made from above and where physical responses are primary. This is, in Piaget's term, a perfect social situation for producing heteronomous orientations. The child may conceive this from direct observation or the parent might convey this occupational model to his relationships with others.

Another relationship. already mentioned, between income and norms of violence in low income areas is that arising from the presence of crime where political power to get police protection is limited. Not poverty as such but frustration of presumed open opportunities (68) may tempt people to commit crimes.

With lower income, too, parents may have reduced capacity to socialize children into accepted societal norms because of the physical energy of work, the lack of labor saving equipment for household duties, and other drains on adults in the family. Lack of sufficient income means that the family has fewer resources to cope with tension. There are also more often single parent homes. All these conditions mean that there is less parental ability to supervise children. This in turn may mean that children do not have experiences to socialize them into the larger society's definitions of behavior norms. When this persists through several generations, its effects may cumulate.

Finally, poor people generally have very little political power. They tend to be uninformed about their rights. Their very poverty frequently robs them of the ability to organize in a way to make an effective political threat.(78) (89) This means they can bring no political pressure for adequate services and protection. Furthermore, it often means neglect or abuse by police, school, or other city officials who take liberties in low income areas that they would not dare take in high income areas. For instance, until the most recent period, it was not uncommon for some teachers to prefer teaching in low income areas because they felt that the parents would be less demanding. A teacher who did not want to work very hard could in that way escape responsibilities by teaching in low income schools. The same has been observed of policemen. Those who were lax in enforcing the law run fewer risks of being reported in low income areas than in a high income area.

Income

With these factors in mind, let us now examine Table 10-11 on income. It shows a pattern like Table 10-9, giving the per cent whose father would not carry a knife or weapon. In each category the Negro families have a larger percentage who have a per capita income of $1,000 or less. The outer city family has the lowest percentage of such low income families. These comparisons are sharper when the gross outer and inner city categories are used. Even the high educated Negro is living in school neighborhoods where the proportion of poor are as great as in neighborhoods of the low educated white. This means the children will have classmates who are likely to be less prepared, have school facilities that are likely to be poorer, etc. But, more important for the issue at hand, he is more likely to be living in a neighborhood where "personal justice" is a common mode of orientation.3/

Family Size

Family size is another neighborhood influence on socialization procedures. We suggest that the larger the family the more difficulties the mother has maintaining supervision over her children. We shall explore this matter in some detail in following chapters. What is of interest here is the systematic difference between Negro and white families in each neighborhood. As Table 10-12 indicates, the Negro families are more likely to have five or more children than the white families in each category of neighborhoods with education controlled. Again, the findings are sharper if we look at the gross inner and outer city categories where the high educated Negro families are larger than those of the poor educated white families. The point we are making refers to neighborhood milieu and not individual families. Regardless of the number of children a particular Negro family has, one can say with some assurance that their neighbors are more likely to have large families (more than five children) than are white families of similar education and living in neighborhoods with similar achievement norms.

It can be further pointed out that the low per capita income of the Negro family is not just a function of having larger families where the Negro and the white breadwinner might earn the same money, but the Negro family have more children and therefore a lower per capita income. We may look at the percentage having a per capita income of less than $1,000 among the families with five or more children. If we do so, we find that 89 per cent of the white large families in the inner city have this low per capita income whereas 98 per cent of the Negro families have that level. This holds for both high and low education groups.4/

Table 10-11

Per Cent of Families with Incomes of $1,000 or Less Per Capita
Family Member, by Neighborhood, Race, and Education

	Neighborhood Achievement Norm				Total for Low and Moderately Low	Total for High and Moderately High
Race and Education	Low Norm	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High Norm	Inner City	Outer City
White Low Education	84 (53)	63 (250)	24 (149)	23 (42)	66 (303)	24 (191)
White High Education	58 (12)	53 (41)	15 (191)	11 (123)	54 (53)	14 (314)
Negro Low Education	94 (211)	81 (267)			85 (478)	
Negro High Education	85 (66)	66 (111)			70 (177)	

Table 10-12

Per Cent of Families Having Five or More Children,
by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race and Education	Neighborhood Achievement Norm				Total for Low and Moderately Low	Total for High and Moderately High
	Low Norm	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High Norm	Inner City	Outer City
White Low Education	50 (54)	30 (250)	11 (151)	18 (43)	33 (304)	13 (194)
White High Education	25 (12)	34 (41)	13 (191)	15 (123)	32 (53)	14 (314)
Negro Low Education	61 (213)	49 (270)			54 (483)	
Negro High Education	45 (66)	41 (111)			42 (177)	

If one envisions neighborhoods where 54 to 42 per cent of the families have five or more children and where the families are, in addition, very poor, one sees a neighborhood where conditions for socialization are likely to differ from contrasting areas. Thus, even a family of great income and few children living in such a neighborhood would have much to contend with. Surely it would not be reasonable to consider such a family equivalent to one matched in wealth and size but living in a neighborhood where other families are wealthy and small. Many sociological analyses which match family characteristics do not take account of the neighborhood. In the case of the Negro-white comparisons, such an error tends to exaggerate the resources of the Negro family. In fact, our own use of achievement-normed neighborhoods do so.

Our point is that neighborhoods in our sample which are dominated by Negro families are likely to have a high probability of using norms of personal justice and punitive discipline because they generally involve conditions of poverty and large families, where the time and energy to use conceptual modes of socialization are likely to be lacking.

Attitudes Toward Officials

Such results might be affected by the provision of greater resources to these neighborhoods, i.e., police protection, etc. We have no direct measure of resources provided but we have one item which addresses itself to the relationship between police and the people. The police are central because they are, for all practical purposes, the chief agency legitimated to use force. If they are alienated from the people or if they are not provided in adequate numbers to do the job then there are very few alternatives to "personalized justice."

In order to get some sense of the attitudes of the neighborhoods toward the police we asked the following question:

> "We've been talking about several different types of organizations. Now I am going to read you a list of organizations and groups that people have different ideas about. After each one I want you to think about the people who work for these organizations, and tell me if they are doing an excellent job, a good job, just a fair job, or a poor job in serving the public.
>
> Most policemen? (excellent, good, fair, poor)"

If we look at Table 10-13 we see that 34 per cent of the

Table 10-13

Per Cent of Mothers Who Say "Police Are Doing a Poor or Fair Job," by Iowa Normed Neighborhoods

Achievement Normed Neighborhoods	Per Cent of Parents Saying Police Doing Poor or Only Fair Job
Low	(345) 34
Moderately Low	(672) 29
Moderately High	(344) 08
High	(169) 10

parents from the low income areas feel the police are doing a "poor or only fair job," while 10 per cent of the parents from the high areas have this feeling. Whether we treat this response as a factual report of an informant or as an item measuring the parent's reference orientation, it seems clear that people from the low income areas might not be able to make use of police resources as readily as those from the high income areas. Thus there might be good reason why parents in the low income areas might be forced to carry weapons and resort to force, presenting thereby a model of problem solving for children which is not the most effective for formal educational purposes.

This finding, though consistent with the one showing that inner city people utilize personalized justice more than outer city people, does not indicate why Negroes do so more than whites. Unfortunately, we do not have this question run by race of respondent. But we do have families classified by the proportion of whites and Negroes in their schools. If we look at Table 10-14 we can see that the schools where 99 per cent of the children are Negro are more likely to have parents who say police are doing a poor or fair job. The findings are in the right direction but not very powerful. We can only speculate that a more precise breakdown by race would have highlighted them even more.

In any case the central point being made is that for the inner city families there is some evidence that the legitimate sources of authority are not readily available. Furthermore, of all these inner city families, they are least available to Negro families.

In order to see this same issue on a more general plane, as well as to get some sense about how these attitudes might be passed down, we asked the parents the following question:

> "Now I'd like to read some statements and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them. I'll read them one at a time and you say whether you strongly agree, probably agree, probably disagree, or strongly disagree:
>
> > I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think."

If we look at Table 10-15 we can see that there are indeed some differences in outlook between parents in low income areas and those in high income areas. Thus, 58 per cent of the families from the lowest income area agreed that public officials don't care about them, while only 37 per cent of the people from high income areas made this complaint. Like the question on the

Table 10-14

Per Cent of Mothers Saying "Police Are Doing Poor or Fair Job," by Racial Majority of School and Neighborhood Achievement Norms

Neighborhood Achievement Norms	Schools with Negro Majority (99% Negro)	Mixed Schools (50-50)	Schools With White Majority (75% or More White)
	(261)	(0)	(84)
Low	36	--	24
	(259)	(167)	(246)
Moderately Low	32	24	28
	(0)	(0)	(344)
Moderately High	--	--	08
	(0)	(0)	(169)
High	--	--	10

Table 10-15

Per Cent of Parents and Children Who Agree That Public Officials Don't Care What Families Like Theirs Think, By Neighborhood

	Achievement Normed Neighborhood	Per Cent of Parents Who Agree or Strongly Agree	Per Cent of Children Who Think It is True or Know It Is True	Population
INNER CITY	Low	58	52	345
	Moderately Low	59	47	672
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	41	34	344
	High	37	32	169

police, this item reflects the lack of confidence that people in low income areas have in public officials. As a consequence, it is a good index of a normative basis which (in low income areas) legitimates the need for the individual to get justice on his own rather than to utilize the socially defined channels of force and authority. It is this implicit commitment to private justice that provides the cornerstone for the use of physical force and violence on the part of the parents and the children as well.

In order to get some insight on how it affects the children, we asked the matching question of the children as follows:

> "Those who run the government don't care much about what people like my family think (check one).
>
> a. I'm sure that's true
> b. I think that's true
> c. I think that's not true
> d. I'm sure that's not true"

The results are also presented in Table 10-15. It can be seen that 52 per cent of the children in low income areas agree that public officials don't care what families like theirs think whereas 32 per cent of the children in high income areas felt that way. Thus, the parents' attitudes appear to be related (ecologically) to the children and this attitude (legitimate or not, as it may be) frequently provides the basis for the concept of individual justice and the resulting proneness toward the individual's use of physical force.

It is of some interest to note (though we do not present the data) that on the above two items and those to follow the Negro families are not more alienated than are the inner city white families. Rather, both inner city white and inner city Negro families are more alienated than are the outer city white families. Therefore, Table 10-15 and the tables to follow can be interpreted as inner and outer city differences but not as Negro-white differences within the inner city.

It is important to note that the Negro family's sense of institutional hostility focuses on the police and law enforcement agencies. As we shall detail in later chapters, 5/ these families are relatively friendly to schools and other institutions and this makes considerable difference on the kinds of mechanisms which can be used to reach out to them.

The rejection of current holders of legitimate authority need not lead to dependence only on individual justice. In revolutionary movements, for example, hostility toward government authority is coupled with group responsibility, or legitimation of a different group as the source of authority. The data for this study were collected in 1962, prior to the development of a civil rights movement strong enough in Detroit to have much effect on Negroes in our sample. Also, a substantial part of our sample in the poor neighborhoods is white. Therefore, we are inclined to feel that distrust of police provides the implicit basis for the child's use and justification of physical force as a major mode of problem solving rather than representing the converse of "revolutionary" attachment.

We have several items that can give us a clue as to whether individuals in our sample who are deprived seek counter-group solutions or individual ones. We asked a question to tap the extent to which the individual is committed to any kind of action (including social action). The question read as follows:

> "People can do very little to change their lives.
>
> a. Strongly agree
> b. Probably agree
> c. Probably disagree
> d. Strongly disagree"

The responses to this question in Table 10-16 show differences by class. Whereas 22 per cent of the mothers in low income areas are pessimistic about being able to change their lives, only seven per cent in high income areas have such pessimism. The point of this finding is that people in low income areas tend to have an ideological orientation which militates against group reaction to current legitimate authority.

In order to see whether the parents' sense of pessimism is ecologically related to their children, we asked the children a question to match that for the parents:

> "Grown-ups can really do very little to change their lives (check one).
>
> a. I'm sure that's true
> b. I think that's true
> c. I think that's not true
> d. I'm sure that's not true"

In Table 10-17 we can see that there are, indeed, findings parallel to those for adults. Thus, 62 per cent of the children coming from low areas are very pessimistic about grown-ups' ability to change their own lives, whereas only 32 per cent of the children

Table 10-16

Per Cent of Mothers Who Strongly Agree That People Can't Change Their Lives, Per Cent of Mothers Who Voted in the Last Election, Per Cent of Mothers Who Called a City Official to Complain about Inadequate Services, by Neighborhoods

	Achievement Normed Neighborhoods	Per Cent Strongly Agree that People Can't Change Their Lives	Per Cent Who Voted in the Last Election	Per Cent Who Called City Officials	Total N
INNER CITY	Low	22	72	21	(345)
	Moderately Low	22	62	22	(672)
OUTER CITY	Moderately High	10	79	49	(344)
	High	07	85	46	(169)

Table 10-17

Per Cent of Children Who Say It Is True that Grown-Ups Can Do Little To Change Their Lives, by Neighborhoods

Achievement Normed Neighborhoods	Per Cent of Children Saying Grown-Ups Can Do Little	N
Low	62	(345)
Moderately Low	61	(672)
Moderately High	39	(344)
High	32	(169)

from high areas have this attitude. This means that by the time the child is ten years old he has already accepted an attitude that is very uncongenial to education. This is directly true insofar as education requires a considerable amount of discipline and future planning and motivation for education requires a belief that it will make a difference to the individual in shaping his destiny. To have a pessimistic attitude about the ability to affect one's life robs the educational experience of one of its chief motivational devices. Furthermore, as we have tried to point out, this fatalistic attitude is further justification for private versus group legitimated modes of justice. This means a stress on force as a mode of problem solving rather than the manipulation of ideas.

As another test of confidence in existing social alternatives, we asked the mothers if they had voted in the last election for governor. The exercise of the voting franchise is an indication of a commitment to group solutions and group legitimated power.6/ If we look at Table 10-16, we can see that 72 per cent of the mothers from the low income area voted whereas 85 per cent of those from the high income areas voted. This is in the direction anticipated and, as such, is further evidence that the lower income areas might not be as ready as the higher ones to appeal to group solutions when in trouble. On an absolute level, the voter proportion in all areas is considerable.

Another way by which the individual can express a sense that there is a responsible group to be dealt with, rather than thinking in terms of an individual solution, is to protest deficiencies in public services to proper officials. Whether they respect or like an official or not, it is expected in a democracy that people should protest if their public services are not adequate. This is especially so if they have a sense that ultimate solutions must involve the use of group enforced norms.

With this interpretation in mind, it is interesting to look at our respondents' responses to the following question:

> "Have you ever gotten in touch with city agencies about things like street cleaning, street repairs, garbage collecting, parks, and recreational facilities, or other matters of this kind?
>
> a. Yes
> b. No"

If we examine Table 10-16, it can be seen that 46 per cent of the people from the high income area have gotten in touch with city officials over inadequate services, whereas only 21 per cent of the people from low areas did so. Since, in fact, most of the conditions are very likely to be better in the outer than in the inner city, the fact that the outer city protested more highlights the point we are seeking to make--the extent to which people in the lowest income area did not see the use of group resources as a potential avenue for solving problems. The idea of individual solutions with their ultimate justification for personal justice and physical violence is frequently the alternative.

To recapitulate, we are seeking to support the argument that people in the lower income areas in our sample were less likely to utilize group solutions when they lack confidence in the current holders of legitimate force. We saw that they were unlikely to engage in any kind of action, assuming their ideology actually serves to guide their actions. Their lack of commitment is also seen by the relatively lesser participation in elections and in protesting to governmental officials. As a consequence, they were likely to use personal justice as their chief mode of problem solving and, in turn, this is likely to lead to stress on the use of force for problem solving, a stress not congenial to success in educational careers.

We emphasize the point that parental influence may be implicit, because when we asked the parents a question that explicitly dealt with the justification of force, the tendency was for those from low income areas to stress solutions which did not involve force. We asked mothers the following question:

> "Suppose you happened to see your child fighting with a child you knew to be a bully. If it looked as if your child was taking good care of himself (herself) in the fight, would you let them fight it out, try to stop the fight, or what?"

Unfortunately we have information on this item for only seven of our eighteen schools, four inner city and three outer city schools. For this limited group (575 families) we found that 86 per cent of those coming from schools dominated by Negroes said they would stop the fight. Seventy-three per cent of those coming from inner city schools with a mixed population said they would stop the fight. By contrast to both these inner city schools, only 45 per cent of the parents in the outer city said they would stop the fight. Thus, on an item which deals explicitly with the use of physical force, the inner city families are more against it than the outer city families. Yet, as we have sought to document throughout this chapter, the parents in the low income, inner city areas in fact encourage this mode of behavior on the part of the children. We would argue that this discrepancy between what the parents would ideally like to do and what they actually do is a function of the larger social situation which forces implicit decision making strategies upon them.

Summary and Conclusion

This concludes the section on force and punitive socialization procedures that encourage one factor reasoning. To summarize briefly, the argument has been made that, in fact, children from low income areas use force as one of the major problem solving devices. As a consequence, they do not get the everyday practice in symbol manipulation that children from upper income areas get. Therefore, they are not as well prepared to deal with the educational situation as the child from the higher income areas. We have tried to point out that the norms of violence are reinforced by peer groups and by family. These, in turn, are locked into a larger social situation where suspicion of officials means that the child is socialized to avoid legitimated sources of power and hence may resort to personal justice. Insofar as this is a realistic assessment of the situation, it should be clear that the educational milieu of the child cannot be improved without some basic alterations in the distribution of civic resources, i.e., policemen, etc.

A second major point we have tried to emphasize in this section is that the parent, by his everyday behavior, may actually provide the child with a model for problem solving (force) which is not what he would explicitly want the child to follow. Thus, the use of physical force to discipline the child, the reliance on personal modes of justice, and the emphasis on the inadequacies of legitimate sources of authority without suitable substitution of another group all lead the child to emphasize problem solving procedures which will make it difficult for him to deal with the existing educational world. And, in fact, all these tendencies work against the parents' explicit goals for greater education for their child. This goes a long way toward explaining the paradox of the Negro family. On the one hand, they have high aspirations. On the other hand, because of the poor social and economic position, they are forced into everyday actions that socialize their children in ways diametrically opposed to their goals of education.

Footnotes

1. The child's answers can be compared to the parent's answers directly by seeing how the parents' responses look when we dichotomize them as we did with the children, i.e., spanking against all other categories. We have not presented the data but what is noteworthy is the fact that the parents in almost every instance give substantially lower proportions saying they spank than do their children. The second thing to note is that the patterns of relationship between inner and outer city and educated and non-educated are the same as the children's but more muted. In passing, it is interesting to note that the one group where parents and children have a common perspective on who gets spanked is the highly educated white families in the outer city. Ten per cent of the children say they are spanked by their parents and nine per cent of the parents say they spank their own children. Since we haven't actually matched the parents with their children, we cannot with certainty say there is agreement, but on this rough "ecological" basis it would seem that middle class educated parents are much closer to their children in having a common perspective than are inner city parents or poorly educated outer city parents. The group with the lowest consistency in perspective between parent and child is the white family living in the lowest income neighborhood, where 50 per cent of the children say they are spanked and ten per cent of the parents say they spank them. This is an interesting point and may be an index of the extent to which children have internalized the perspectives of their parents. Then again, if we feel that, in fact, the children are giving the more accurate responses, it suggests whence response distortion may be arising, i.e., that the whites from the lowest income group might systematically be giving "socially acceptable" answers.

2. Though we have not presented the data when we compare the child's responses for mother and father (based on the same population of complete families) several differences arise. First, in every case but one (which was tied) the father is viewed as more likely to carry a weapon than is the mother. Though it is interesting to note that the differences between the Negro man and woman are not quite as large as those between whites. This finding on sex differences is an indirect validation of the item because it comes close to our everyday experience that males are given more social legitimation for the use of physical violence than are females.

A second trend which can be noted is that the differences by neighborhood are slightly larger when the father is used to define personal justice.

Third, the differences between Negro and whites are smaller when fathers are used. However, and finally, it is still true that the biggest differences are those between Negro and white families.

3. There is also a methodological sidelight to this point. Any study which seeks to match white and Negro families on education and income which does not at the same time match them on neighborhood income is biased against the Negro family. This would be especially important where the neighborhood plays a role in the issue at hand. Or, put more precisely, the kind of neighborhood categories we have used (reading achievement norms) cannot be used to match Negro and white families.

4. There are two kinds of biases in these figures which we think cancel each other out. First, the income classifications are biased against the Negro. For instance, in the income classification about 50 per cent of the Negroes actually fall in the bottom part of the classification (e.g., $500 or below) while only 29 per cent of the white families are in this group. We think this is counter-balanced by the fact that the Negroes probably fall on the large side in the family categorization.

5. See chapters 15-17.

6. The only time this would not be true is where the candidates are viewed as of no relevance by the electorate for their problems.

Chapter 11

Heteronomous Norms, Child's Orientation, and Parental Contact As They Affect One Factor Reasoning

It was the contention of Chapter 10 that the use of physical force as a major mode of socialization encourages one factor reasoning. However, other elements may also lead to the same thing. For instance, norms which stress strict obedience to parental values and viewpoints could curtail the child's practice in the handling and manipulation of alternative concepts, a cognitive shell almost indispensable for success in school. Over-stress on acceptance of authority may encourage the child when faced with a problem to look for ultimate authority rather than try to reason, argue, or discuss the issue.

It is, therefore, of some import to try to make an independent assessment of the extent to which parents hold the value that children should be given independence in decision making. To this end we asked mothers in our sample the following question:

> "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
>
> a. Strongly agree
> b. Probably agree
> c. Probably disagree
> d. Strongly disagree."

We asked the children a parallel question:

> "The most important thing a child can do is to learn to obey.
>
> a. I'm sure that's true
> b. I think that's true
> c. I think that's not true
> d. I'm sure that's not true."

It is of note that a majority of respondents in all neighborhood areas affirmed the statement by choosing the most extreme category available, i.e., "strongly agree," or "I'm sure that's true." As Table 11-1 indicates, the children and mothers from working class neighborhoods (inner city) are more likely than those in higher levels to accept the statement. The contrasting low and high areas show 72 vs. 53 per cent of mothers, and 82 per

Table 11-1

Per Cent of Parents and Children Who Strongly Agree That Obedience and Respect for Authority Are the Most Important Things for Children to Learn, by Neighborhood

Achievement Normed Neighborhoods	Per Cent of Parents Who Strongly Agree	Per Cent of Children Who Are Sure It Is True	N
Low	72	82	(345)
Moderately Low	76	73	(672)
Moderately High	62	71	(347)
High	53	59	(169)

cent vs. 59 per cent for the children. Thus, by the age of 10 or 11, the child has already adopted the attitudes and values of the adults in their area.

The idea of compliance to parental authority can be approached in a more direct way through the following question asked of the children:

> "How often do you agree with your mother about what you should do? (Check one)
>
> a. All the time
> b. Almost all the time
> c. Most of the time
> d. Some of the time
> e. Almost never."

The same question was asked about the father. In Table 11-2 we see that twice the proportion of children in the low income neighborhood say they agree with their mothers all the time as compared to those in the high area. The same pattern tends to hold for agreement with fathers. Thirty-four per cent of the children in the low area say they agree all of the time, while 22 per cent in the upper area say this.

Despite these findings, we should not so readily conclude that children from working class areas are necessarily obedient to their parents' wishes. We have noted earlier that the parents themselves are sometimes inconsistent, i.e., they explicitly stress the use of verbal discussion over force but in fact their own actions tend to encourage the use of force as a problem solving device. The implication we stress is that the child in the lower socio-economic areas is more likely to learn to think in terms of absolutes. He is more likely to think that he should always be in agreement with his parents, that obedience is a very strong virtue. Insofar as these values actually serve as guidelines to behavior for the parent and child, we have a situation in the low income areas where adherence to a doctrine may well minimize the amount of practice the child gets in manipulating verbal constructs.

To try to determine whether family values are actually effective in critical educational behavior, we can relate them directly to the child's reading achievement tests. Table 11-3 indicates that in five out of the six comparisons parents who strongly endorse obedience as a virtue also have children who read less well.1/ Note that this is the case with race and education of respondents controlled.

Table 11-2

Per Cent of Children Who Say They Agree with Mother All of the Time and Per Cent Who Say They Agree with Father All of the Time, by Neighborhoods

Achievement Normed Neighborhoods	Per Cent Agree with Mother All of the Time	Per Cent Agree with Father All of the Time*
	(345)	(297)
Low	33	35
	(672)	(605)
Moderately Low	35	39
	(344)	(328)
Moderately High	14	23
	(169)	(162)
High	16	21

---

* All children who felt they had no one like a father at home are by necessity excluded.

Table 11-3

Reading Achievement, by Mother's Statement on "Obedience is the Most Important Virtue that Children Should Learn," by Neighborhood, Race, and Education

		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	Strongly Agree Obedience is Important	Other Responses	Strongly Agree Obedience is Important	Other Responses
White	Low	(225) -10.6	(79) - 9.5	(133) - 2.6	(61) - 1.5
White	High	(40) - 8.7	(13) + 1.5	(168) + 3.6	(151) + 8.8
Negro	Low	(367) -14.3	(116) -15.1		
Negro	High	(124) -10.8	(53) - 6.7		

When we turn directly to the effects of conformity by children to parental norms on reading achievement, we should note that one need not expect a simple relation between agreement with parents and performance. On the assumption that the mere acceptance of authority limits the cognitive flexibility of children and hence their school performance, we would expect many confirming children to be more limited than less comfirming--up to a point. That point could be where lack of agreement might lead to distracting conflict. Therefore, a curvilinear relationship may obtain and this can be examined by trichotomizing the answers to the question, "How often do you agree with your mother about what you should do?" Those who answered "all of the time" we called "conformist." Those who answered "most of the time or almost all of the time" we called "independents" and those who said "some of the time" or "never" we called "combatants." Table 11-4 shows that there is a definite tendency for a curvilinear relationship to occur between conformity and reading achievement. Thus, in the six possible situations we have five where the highest reading achievement scores occurred amongst the children who were "independent." It is necessary to note, however, that there are systematic differences between the white and Negro populations in the inner city. The Negro children classified as "combatants" tend to do better than the "conformists" whereas the white children (relatively) show the opposite tendency.

We think these differences may reflect factors which indicate again the need to take the neighborhood and community context into account. We would hypothesize, as we have done before, that the white families in the inner city have a basically different approach to educational institutions than the Negro families. Because of prejudice, the Negro families do not have the option to move and if they are going to educate their children they must take the schools into partnership. By contrast, the white families do have the option to move and if they are really interested in education a prime strategy is to isolate their children from the school and neighborhood and concentrate on moving, objectives that do not require partnership with the school.

We think this process is buttressed by additional factors. For status reasons, whites in mixed schools might isolate themselves from the school rather than associate with Negroes. More important, selective recruitment procedures are likely to bring a higher proportion of farm families among the white inner city groups than among the Negro inner city groups. Furthermore, these white farm families are likely to be better organized to implement their values than other white families, but similar Negro farm families in the inner city will have no such advantage. We would also suggest that families with farm backgrounds are likely,

Table 11-4

Reading Achievement by Child's Agreement with Mother, by Education, Race, and Neighborhood

Race	Education	Conformist Agree with Mother all the Time	Independent Agree with Mother Most of the Time	Combatant Agree Some of Time or Never
			Inner City	
White	Low	-10.3 (87)	- 9.1 (166)	-14.4 (51)
White	High	-10.1 (13)	- 2.2 (27)	-10.5 (13)
Negro	Low	-15.8 (176)	-14.0 (212)	-13.1 (93)
Negro	High	-11.9 (69)	- 8.0 (76)	- 8.2 (32)
			Outer City	
White	Low	- 4.9 (43)	- 0.3 (109)	- 4.6 (42)
White	High	+ 0.9 (41)	+ 7.6 (214)	+ 4.3 (64)

because of lack of experience, to feel more alienated from city bureaucracies, such as the schools. This is a counterpart of their stress on family values.

The above reasoning reflects the following kind of analysis. The inner city (e.g., slum areas) is not considered to be a desirable place to live by those who are knowledgeable. There are generally three major classes of people living there: first, those people who have no experience with urban life and hence have not been trained for urban living (e.g., migrants from the farm); second, people who know how to live in the city but who because of physical defect, illness, psychological breakdown, severe marital or social breakdown, or deviant cultures are unsuccessful and therefore gravitate to the slums; third, people who know how to live successfully in the city but prevented from going elsewhere because of prejudice.

The white population in the inner city we see as predominantly made up of the first two classes. They are often from farms and people who are able but who lack training to get good jobs or knowledge about what is available in the rest of the city. There will also be white groups who have suffered economic failure because of various disabilities, and these too reduce the quality of their contribution to educational socialization. By contrast, we see the Negro family population of the inner city as made up of these same classes but also of one additional important group; that is, those able, knowledgeable families who are forced to live in the area because prejudice prevents them from earning more money or because prejudice prevents them from moving into better neighborhoods even when they have the money.

Following this line of reasoning, we expect to find that the white population is more likely to have a higher proportion of rural families than the Negro population. We expect also that the white rural family in the inner city is more effective in implementing their values than the white non-rural family. However, the same need not be true of the Negro family.

On these various reasons we are basing our argument that the whites in the inner city are especially prone to build up the importance of the family. If education is an important matter it will be done in the context of the family, with as little to do with the schools as possible. By contrast, we would argue that the Negro and the outer city white are much more likely to view their relationship to the school as a partnership. In the process they will tolerate much conflict between parents and child if that is necessary to get the job done. For one thing should be clear: in the inner city if a parent is pushing for education he is most certainly going to have to put a great deal of pressure on the child. In the last chapter we tried to detail how the interlock between family and community frequently forces certain socialization procedures onto the family whether it wants them or not. For a parent to fight these forces requires considerable counter pressure. The child torn between them is going to feel much tension. We are suggesting that for the white families, for many of the reasons suggested above, this pressure will not take the form of hostility between parent and child. The family is too embattled a refuge to permit any internal dissension. By contrast, the Negro families and the outer city families, with their school-family partnership concept, can permit considerable explicit tension within the family with less risk of disaster to the educational goals.2/

We do not have direct tests of these propositions but we do have several indirect tests. First, if we can assume that the mother's educational aspirations for the child are an index of educational concern, we should find that the Negro and white inner city families have different distributions. The white families are likely to associate educational concern with conformity but the Negro families are more likely to associate it with conflict. Thus, when we compare the "conformist" and the "combatants" in Table 11-5, we see that for the Negro population there is a small but consistent tendency for parent-child conflict to be associated with mothers with high aspirations. For the white families in the inner city there is a small tendency for the opposite to occur. This is best seen in the totals for whites and Negroes when the educational level is ignored. Thus, for the white groups, 30 per cent of the "conformity situations" have mothers with high educational aspirations while the "combatant situations" show only 17 per cent. In short, the conforming group has 13 per cent more mothers with high aspirations. By contrast, among the Negro inner city families the "conformist" group has 6 per cent fewer mothers with educational aspirations for the child.

Since our analysis has argued that educationally motivated white families in the inner city will be under pressure to isolate themselves and Negroes will not, we can test out our hypothesis in another way. We should find that the differences between Negro and white inner city families will be extremely sharp for families with strong educational orientation. However, where the parents are not educationally oriented so strongly, Negro and white families may have patterns which resemble each other. Table 11-6 presents such a test. When mothers have high aspirations, the children from Negro and outer city white families read better in the "combatant" situations as compared to the "conformity" one. By contrast, among the most educationally oriented white families in

Table 11-5

Per Cent of Mothers with High Educational Aspirations for Child (College Degree or More) by Race, Education, and Extreme Situations of Parent Child Agreement (Inner City Only)

Race	Education		Conformist Agree with Mother All the Time	Combatant Agree Some of Time or Never
White	Low		(87) 34	(51) 21
	High		(13) 0	(13) 0
		Total	(100) 30	(64) 17
Negro	Low		(176) 47	(93) 52
	High		(69) 49	(32) 59
		Total	(245) 48	(125) 54

Table 11-6

Reading Achievement by Parent's Educational Aspirations, by Inner and Outer City, Child's Agreement with Mother, Race, and Education

Race	Education	Conformity Agree with Mother All the Time	Independent Agree with Mother Most of the Time	Combatant Agree Some of Time or Never
		Mother Has High Educational Aspirations		
			Inner City	
White	Low	(30) - 5.9	(51) - 8.0	(11) -16.4
White	High	(7) - 2.7	(10) - 2.4	(6) -11.5
Negro	Low	(83) -16.0	(93) -13.4	(49) -13.2
Negro	High	(34) -11.9	(58) - 8.0	(19) - 8.2
			Outer City	
White	Low	(25) - 1.0	(47) + 1.8	(16) + 2.8
White	High	(26) + 2.6	(141) +10.4	(42) + 6.9
		Mother Has Low Educational Aspirations		
			Inner City	
White	Low	(57) -12.6	(115) - 9.5	(40) -13.9
White	High	(6) -18.8	(17) - 2.0	(7) - 9.7
Negro	Low	(93) -15.6	(119) -14.4	(44) -12.8
Negro	High	(35) -13.9	(18) - 7.6	(13) -11.5
			Outer City	
White	Low	(18) -10.2	(62) - 1.8	(26) - 9.1
White	High	(15) - 1.9	(73) + 2.3	(22) - 0.7

the inner city, children are most successful when they are "conformists" rather than "combatants."

When we examine families classified as having relatively low interest in education (i.e., the mother has lower educational aspirations), the scores of children in Negro and white families tend to be similar. The "conformists" and "combatant" categories tend to have similar levels of reading skill. The independents do best of all.

Some additional data support these speculations. For instance, there is a slightly higher percentage of people with farm backgrounds among the inner city white families than among the inner city Negro families. Thus, 58 per cent of the poorly educated whites come from the farm whereas 48 per cent of the poorly educated Negroes come from the farm. Forty-two per cent of the highly educated whites come from the farm whereas only 27 per cent of the highly educated Negroes come from the farm.

Furthermore, Table 11-7 shows that among the white families in the inner city, those with farm backgrounds tend to have children who do better than those without such backgrounds. On the other hand, the Negro families have a mixed situation. Among low educated Negroes, those with a non-farm background do better than those with a farm background, but the opposite is true of those with a high education.3/ However, relatively speaking, rural families show better readers among the white inner city families than among Negro inner city families.

One reason for noting rural-urban differences is because we assume that farm families are more likely to stress the family as an end-in-itself and consequently trust educational institutions less. However, some ethnic groups put even stronger stress on familistic values, and further we suspect that some white families in the inner city might act with similar emphasis on the family unit if they are especially interested in the education of their children and see the possibility of moving. This systematic social pressure to orient toward the family should be more evident for white than for Negro families. Such a value may be thought of as a separate factor from rural background or as a more explicit mechanism by which the rural family operates. We think it is both.

In order to measure family orientation we decided to use a question that would force the respondent to choose between occupational success and family cohesion. The interview item read:

> "If a man now working at a good job is offered a much better job, should he take it if it means he will have to be

Table 11-7

Reading Achievement by Rural-Urban Background, Education, Race, and Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Education	White		Negro	
		Farm	Non-Farm	Farm	Non-Farm
Inner	Low	- 8.9 (176)	-12.3 (128)	-14.4 (234)	-14.5 (249)
	High	- 5.7 (22)	- 6.5 (31)	- 8.8 (51)	- 9.9 (126)
Outer	Low	- 0.1 (43)	- 2.8 (151)	--- (0)	--- (0)
	High	+ 3.4 (50)	+ 6.6 (269)	--- (0)	--- (0)

> away from his family two or three months at a time every year? Would you say he certainly should take it, probably should take it, probably should not take it, or certainly should not take it?"

We dichotomized this question by taking the extreme category, "certainly should not take it," as opposed to all other responses. The assumption is that one who was strongly committed to the family would give this extreme answer.

In Table 11-8 we see that the inner city white population is most likely to adhere to this philosophy (approximately 60 per cent), the inner city Negro family next (48 per cent), and the outer city whites least (36 per cent). However, the difference between races occurs mostly among the low educated. This encourages the hypothesis that inner city Negro and whites use family structure somewhat differently.

Another test of the hypothesis would be to show that educationally oriented inner city whites who adhere to strong family values produce better readers. At the same time it should also be shown that inner city Negroes and outer city whites, and all situations where parents put a low priority on education, produce poorer readers when they adhere to strong family values.

Table 11-9 shows that there is some confirmation for the hypothesis among the poorly educated inner city families with high educational aspirations. White families from this group who stress strong family values (i.e., answer "certainly don't take job") have children with better reading scores. For the Negro families in this category, the opposite is true. The hypothesis does not hold for the high educated white families. For these categories, those who stress family values have children with lower scores.

For other categories in Table 11-9 the suggested framework holds. The outer city families and all families where mothers have low aspirations have children with lower reading scores when the family puts a stress on strong family values.4/

We may at this point summarize and review. We started by saying that families which put great value on obedience are likely to reduce opportunities for their children to learn conceptual manipulation. This leads to one-factor reasoning and as a consequence lowers reading skills. We examined this proposition from the parent's perspective and the child's perspective and found some support in the data. We then sought to discover what degree of independence was optimal for the child and came to the conclu-

Table 11-8

Per Cent of Mothers Who Say, "Certainly not take a job if it means being away several months...." by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race	Education	Inner City	Outer City
White	Low	63 (306)	61 (196)
	High	42 (33)	33 (318)
Negro	Low	49 (483)	
	High	44 (177)	

Table 11-9

Reading Achievement by Mother's Aspirations, Commitment to Extreme Family Goal,* Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		White		Negro	
Neighborhood	Education	More Positive Attitude to Job*	Certainly Don't Take Job*	More Positive Attitude to Job	Certainly Don't Take Job
			High Aspirations		
Inner City	Low	-10.5 (29)	- 7.5 (63)	-13.7 (116)	-15.1 (110)
	High	- 2.1 (13)	- 8.5 (10)	- 7.7 (60)	- 9.0 (51)
Outer City	Low	+ 3.2 (53)	- 1.9 (35)	--- (0)	--- (0)
	High	+ 9.4 (145)	+ 7.0 (64)	--- (0)	--- (0)

(continued on next page)

Table 11-9 (continued)

Reading Achievement by Mother's Aspirations, Commitment to Extreme Family Goal,* Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		White		Negro	
Neighborhood	Education	More Positive Attitude to Job*	Certainly Don't Take Job*	More Positive Attitude to Job	Certainly Don't Take Job
			Low Aspirations		
Inner City	Low	-10.4 (85)	-11.6 (127)	-14.4 (131)	-14.6 (126)
	High	- 6.3 (18)	- 8.4 (12)	-11.4 (40)	-12.2 (26)
Outer City	Low	- 4.2 (62)	- 6.2 (44)	--- (0)	--- (0)
	High	+ 2.0 (68)	- 0.2 (42)	--- (0)	--- (0)

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* This is a response to the item which asks mothers if husband should take a better job if it means having to leave the family for a couple of months each year.

sion that for most families it was a moderate amount. However, this depended somewhat on the community context. Where families were under much economic or social pressures, the "conformity" aspect seems more important; if they accepted the strong educational values, the "combative" relationship seems more important.

Independence of the Child and Reading Skill

In the remainder of this chapter we want to examine some of the restraints within which both comformity and independence operate to affect the child's reading performance. When referring to independence, we do not mean separation of the child from the family but a much more subtle process. We refer to independence where mother and child are not only part of the same membership group but where they have positive reference orientations toward particular values. When the child says he disagrees with his parent he may be reflecting several circumstances: first, the parent may have inculcated the idea that obedience is not the most important norm, and hence children are free to express disagreements. This does not mean that parent and child in fact are in basic disagreement. Disagreement may reflect, secondly, an intense mutual involvement of parent and child in a common goal about which points of friction arise.

These conditions of parent-child disagreement are to be differentiated from those where parent and child are in disagreement over basic differences in objectives or because of mutual hostility for each other. Under this latter condition, one would expect avoidance of each other to the extent possible (not having a common membership group) and negative images of each other (not having a positive reference orientation).

Disagreement between child and parent within the context of common group membership and positive reference group makes what we call here the "independent child" and this, we propose, leads to educational achievement. Disagreement with loss of membership and loss of common reference makes the separated, not the independent, child.

For an index of strength of the family membership group, we asked the child the following question:

"Do your parents know where you are after school?"
(Check one)

a. All the time
b. Almost all the time
c. Most of the time

d. Some of the time
e. Almost never.

Those who said "all of the time" or "almost all of the time" are defined as the most closely supervised children and those saying anything else as the less tightly supervised. It can be seen in Table 11-10 that the more the parent supervises the child (the stronger the family membership group) the better the child's relative reading scores. This is the case in six of six comparisons. All other things held equal (children matched on race, neighborhood, and mother's education), the child whose mother supervises closely has a 3.7 month advantage in reading over other children.

This finding suggests that independence develops within a situation where the child is regularly held within the bounds of the family. This does not mean domination, however, but it evidently does mean not permitting the child to do things on his own without parent's supervision. Inner city areas are most likely to show effects of lack of such supervision. This suggests that where parents are not able to give continuous supervision, the child will be handicapped. This is likely to be the case when families are poor and energies drained by hard physical labor. In low income neighborhoods, in addition, pressures by the neighborhood are likely to discourage further the educational effectiveness of the child.

As a final variable, let us look at some data on the nature of child-parent relations--their educational reference orientation. Some idea of potential child-parent reference orientation on education can be inferred from the following question asked the children:

"Does your mother think you are: (check one)

a. Very smart
b. Pretty smart
c. Not very smart
d. Not smart at all."

If we dichotomize the responses between answers of "very smart" and all others, we see in Table 11-11 that in five out of the six comparisons where the child may be said to hold a positive educational reference orientation (sees his mother as thinking he is smart), the reading scores are higher than where there is less positive orientation.5/ Children who score better report higher judgements from their mothers.

It is especially of note that these findings hold for the

Table 11-10

Reading Achievement by Parents Know Where Child Is After School, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		White		Negro	
Neighborhood	Education	Mother Knows Whereabouts All the Time or Almost All the Time	Mother Knows Whereabouts Less Frequently	Mother Knows Whereabouts All the Time or Almost All the Time	Mother Knows Whereabouts Less Frequently
Inner City	Low	- 9.7 (255)	-13.5 (49)	-14.1 (395)	-16.0 (88)
	High	- 5.9 (46)	- 8.0 (7)	- 9.0 (159)	-14.5 (18)
Outer City	Low	- 1.4 (162)	- 6.3 (32)	--- (0)	--- (0)
	High	+ 6.6 (276)	+ 2.6 (43)	--- (0)	--- (0)

Table 11-11

Reading Achievement by Child's Statement, "Mother thinks I am smart...," by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race	Education	Mother Thinks Child Very Smart	Mother Thinks Child Less Than Very Smart
		Inner City	
White	Low	(60) - 6.7	(243) -11.5
	High	(16) - 6.3	(37) - 6.1
Negro	Low	(85) -10.9	(398) -15.2
	High	(48) - 3.9	(128) -11.6
		Outer City	
White	Low	(39) + 6.8	(155) - 4.5
	High	(74) +12.2	(245) + 4.3

Negro children who were most likely to score higher when classified as "combatant" in relations with their parents. Thus, this group seems to say that they argue with their mothers but still believe their mothers think them very smart. Disagreement between mother and child in this case does not seem to involve negative reference orientations; it seems more likely to be a consequence of a common involvement in education.

Because our mode of analysis does not examine the relationships directly, we cannot use this evidence as conclusive but only as illustrative. Within this limitation it can be said that for most children in our sample the good readers are those who are moderately independent, who keep in close touch with their parents, and who have a sense that their parents respect them intellectually.

Summary and Conclusion

We began this chapter with a concern for the problem of one-factor thinking. We suggested that where parents had value systems which stressed obedience on the part of the child as opposed to independence, this would lead to one-factor thinking and poor reading skills. This value system was thought to operate in a way similar to the use of physical modes of punishment. It prevented the child from engaging in concept manipulation which we feel is essential for learning.

In support of this argument, we showed that where the parent stressed extreme values of obedience the child generally read more poorly. We also pointed out that where the child stressed extreme agreement with the parent he read more poorly. We also suggested that the alternative was not complete disagreement. Rather, the child seemed to do best where he had some independence but was not in serious conflict.

To test this, we tried to show that children who were better readers had moderate disagreements with their parents but within a context in which the parent kept in constant touch with the child, and where the child had a sense that the parent respected him intellectually. Independence in the child apparently does not mean absence of parental supervision.

We also tried to show that in general where exceptional emphasis is found on family-centered values relative to other institutions, the child will do more poorly. The degree to which less exclusive familistic orientations maximize reading appears to depend on the larger social context. Where the family is under economic or other severe pressures, internal friction in the family can be less tolerated. The child's educational socialization must take place within a milieu of conformity. Thus, the white family in the inner city may enhance educational effects by isolating the child from the neighborhood, making of the family a refuge within which little friction is acceptable.

By contrast, where the family is more accepting of community institutions, the extent of internal family harmony need not be so crucial. The parent-child relationship can take on more of the character of "independence." Consideration of the cultural matrix within which family styles of socialization are differentially effective has important theoretical implications in itself. In addition, it is emphasized here so as to lay the groundwork for theories of linkages between organization and family that will maximize education.

Chapter 11

Footnotes

1. If we examine this table a little closer it would suggest that this value on obedience differentiates much more among the educated families. For instance, the average advantage in reading skills for a child whose mother does not believe in obedience is 0.5 months for the uneducated families and 6.5 months for the educated ones.

   One possible explanation of this is that the uneducated may have the desire to educate their children but not the "know how." They may not understand that in order for the child to succeed educationally he has to develop some intellectual independence. At the same time, the mothers are quite sure that education is important. In effect, their child rearing norms and educational goals are inconsistent. The less educated mother seems to say, "learn to read because I told you to and obedience to parents is the most important virtue." This may lead to some increase in reading skills because it will reflect parental supervision and concern for reading. In the low income areas where there is much counter pressure from the neighborhood milieu, it may be necessary for the parent to take a strong stand with the child if anything is to be done at all. At the same time, the very value itself is not conducive to reading and therefore may be self-defeating beyond a modest improvement in reading.

2. The friction will only be felt by the inner city families unless one assumes that among the highest educated groups in the outer city there are individuals who feel trapped and want to leave as well.

3. Why the poor educated and high educated Negro families reverse themselves in this manner we do not know. However, one possible explanation is that, even granted prejudice, there is less reason for educated Negro families to be in these areas than non-educated ones. That is, a higher education among the Negro families in slum areas may be an index of family or individual breakdown. This in turn would account for their being in the slum as well as having children who do poorly.

4. It would seem at first glance that the Negro poor educated group does not meet this criterion as well as other categories. However, a substantial group of Negro families is on welfare and may be less inclined to say "take the job" for

reasons different from those dealt with here. They may be desperate for work, or they may be suspicious of the interviewer, since a refusal to take a job might be grounds for reconsidering their welfare benefits. At the same time, because of complex family problems, their children are likely to do poorer than any others in school. If they are removed from the analysis, the responses of the poor educated Negro and white families in the inner city are quite similar.

5. Of course the mother's positive orientation might be caused by the good scholarship of the child. We do not assume that the relationship is one-way but that it involves a feedback. In addition the reader must keep in mind that we are not dealing with report card grades but reading achievement tests whose results are not as readily observable to the mother.

Chapter 12

Family Socialization--The Amount and the Consistency

Thus far we have dealt primarily with the type of socialization processes used by families and their educational aspirations. We have not discussed socialization quantitatively. It is possible that the type of socialization--whether it is physical or conceptual--may be secondary to the amount of attention parents give to the child. It may be that the use of physical or conceptual-explanatory modes of socialization will be equally effective if used often enough.

Closely related to the amount of socialization is its consistency. It may be argued that even considerable attention to the child by parents may not be useful because it is inconsistent. The relationship between inconsistency and amount of socialization is especially clear if inconsistency is a function of conflict between spouses, where disputes between them may leave little time for the child.1/

In this chapter we point out first how the child's reading skill relates to inconsistencies on the part of the parents. Then we try to approach the problem of amount of socialization directly. We point to a number of factors that can affect the amount of parental involvement with the child, e.g., income, size of family, single spouse families, and availability of kin. With regard to these variables we want to examine how the amount of supervision relates to the goals of the family and to effects on children's reading skills. We consider also how supervision in the family unit is related to the larger social milieu.

Consistency of Discipline and Reading Achievement

In the last chapter we spoke about consensus between parent and child as a factor in the education of the child, pointing out that some educational theory suggested that the most favorable situation for promoting educational performance may be a moderate amount of dissensus. Thus the child is not pressed into rote conformity but he is also not subjected to conflict so great as to distract from the educational process. This same reasoning might suggest that a moderate amount of dissensus between husband and wife is an optimum mode of discipline allowing the child some room to develop on his own. A contrary view would hole that consistency is a prime quality for successful discipline. Some theory suggests that the use of physical punishment or verbal explanation as the chief mode of discipline is less crucial than the presentation of a consistent pattern to the child so that he will have a clear idea when he has done something wrong or something right. This view holds that if the husband and wife disagree about when or how the child should be disciplined, this is the worst possible situation for internalizing parental norms.

In order to get at some of these aspects of consistency, we asked mothers the following question:

> "How often do you and your husband disagree about what punishment the children should get when they do something wrong?
>
> a. Very often
> b. Often
> c. Only occasionally
> d. Never"

Respondents were classified into three groups. Those answering "very often" and "often" were considered to be families in conflict; those answering "occasionally" were considered to have moderate disagreements; and those answering "never" were considered to be in complete agreement.

If Table 12-1 is examined, it can be seen that in all 12 of the possible comparisons, where the parents were in conflict, the child did most poorly. If we look at the other aspect of the hypothesis--i.e., that moderate disagreement is more functional than a complete agreement--we have mixed results. Three comparisons show that moderate disagreement relates to higher scores than others, and in three comparisons the results are the opposite. In short, there does not seem to be any consistent difference between minor dissensus and complete agreement.

To get an independent assessment of this same issue we asked the child the following question:

> "How often do your parents disagree with each other?
>
> a. Almost all the time
> b. Most of the time
> c. Some of the time
> d. Almost never"

The responses were trichotomized with those answering "almost all the time" and "most of the time" classified as representing conflict; those answering "some of the time" classified as in moderate

Table 12-1

Reading Achievement, by How Often Parents* Agree About Punishment (Mother's Estimate), by Neighborhood, Race, and Education

Race and Education	Never Disagree	Occasionally Disagree	Often or Very Often Disagree
		Inner City	
White Low Education	(81) - 8.7	(131) -10.0	(38) -11.3
White High Education	(12) - 7.6	(25) - 4.8	(3) -19.7
Negro Low Education	(108) -13.7	(161) -14.0	(34) -14.2
Negro High Education	(36) - 9.4	(87) - 8.8	(15) - 9.5
		Outer City	
White Low Education	(48) - 4.1	(115) - 0.3	(15) - 7.7
White High Education	(74) + 5.9	(200) + 5.9	(23) + 3.4

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* Single parent families excluded.

disagreement; and those answering "almost never" classified as being in agreement. In Table 12-2 it can be noted that the children who report their parents as disagreeing almost all or most of the time are the ones with lower reading scores. In fact, there is a great similarity in the patterning of the children's responses and those of their parents. In Table 12-2 there are two comparisons where the child does best when the parent is in moderate disagreement and one case where there is a tie. These three instances fall in the same categories as they did for the parent responses in Table 12-1.

Both sets of data tend to confirm that extreme parental disagreement is associated with children with lower reading performance. The evidence is inconclusive as to whether a moderate disagreement is better than total reported agreement.

In order to get some sense of the relationship between consistency of discipline and type of discipline, we related the mother's estimate of disagreement with her husband with the kind of punishment she would use if the child joined a gang.2/ We dichotomized the first variable by taking "occasionally" or "never disagree" as one category and "often" or "very often" as the other category; we dichotomized the mother's response on the discipline item into those who would spank the child vs. all others. The cross tabulation of these variables is shown in Table 12-3.

This table suggests that the type of discipline and consistency of discipline both have an effect on reading scores but the pattern is unclear and the number of cases so small that we shall point only to the overall pattern without elaboration. In the inner city in three out of the four comparisons the best readers are those in situations which permit a moderate autonomy (i.e., the parents rarely disagree but utilize conceptual explanatory socialization procedures), or situations where the parents disagree among themselves (and therefore increase the child's autonomy) but utilize punitive modes of socialization (and therefore restrict the child's autonomy). Either extreme of autonomy or conformity tends to produce poorer readers. Thus, where the child has maximum autonomy (viz., parents disagree and they use nonpunitive methods) or where he has maximum conformity (viz., parents agree and use punitive methods), the child does most poorly. Among the outer city families there does not seem to be any discernible pattern.3/

Although these findings are blurred, we think it worthwhile in future investigations to explore the interaction between consistency and type of discipline. If we assume that inconsistency may play a role, it can affect the child's reading ability

Table 12-2

Reading Achievement by How Often Parents* Disagree (Child's Estimate) by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race	Mother's Education	Never Disagree	Disagree Sometimes	Disagree All or Most of the Time
			Inner City	
White	Low	(120) - 8.5	(85) -10.8	(71) -12.0
White	High	(15) - 8.7	(18) - 4.2	(10) -12.0
Negro	Low	(191) -14.2	(119) -14.4	(96) -15.1
Negro	High	(86) - 9.0	(40) - 8.1	(33) -10.6
			Outer City	
White	Low	(82) - 1.5	(63) - 1.5	(33) - 7.4
White	High	(161) + 8.0	(93) + 4.8	(49) + 0.6

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*This excludes all situations where the child felt he had no functional substitute for a father.

Table 12-3

Reading Achievement by Mother's Report of Disagreement with Husband and Use of Spanking as Discipline if Child Joined a Gang, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Never or Occasionally Disagree with Husband		Often or Always Disagree with Husband	
Race	Mother's Education	Not Spank	Spank	Not Spank	Spank
		Inner City			
White	Low	(176) - 9.1	(36) -11.7	(28) -12.5	(10) - 8.1
White	High	(31) - 4.7	(6) -10.8	(2) -22.5	(1) -14.0
Negro	Low	(216) -13.3	(53) -16.5	(30) -13.5	(4) -19.3
Negro	High	(102) - 9.0	(21) - 9.1	(12) -10.4	(3) - 6.0
		Outer City			
White	Low	(141) - 2.1	(22) - 0.7	(15) - 7.7	(0) --
White	High	(249) + 6.1	(25) + 4.0	(21) + 4.8	(2) -10.5

in at least two ways. The inconsistency may not provide the child enough stimulus from any one mode to be effective, or the parents become so involved in their own conflict that they tend to neglect the child. To get some sense of the effects of this more generalized kind of conflict on the child we asked the mother the following: (8)

> "How do you feel about the understanding you get from your husband about your problems and feelings? Could you tell me which of these statements best describes how you feel--would you say . . . (Show card)
>
> a. Pretty disappointed--I'm really missing out on that
> b. It would be nice to have more understanding
> c. It's all right, I guess--I can't complain
> d. Quite satisfied--I'm lucky the way it is
> e. Enthusiastic--it couldn't be better!"

The responses were dichotomized with those giving any of the first three responses classified as having low satisfactions and all other responses high satisfaction.

Table 12-4 shows that in five out of the six comparisons the more dissatisfied the mother is with her marriage the worse the child does as a reader. It is interesting that in some situations mothers who say they are unhappy with their husbands have children who are worse readers than children of mothers without husbands. The numbers are small but in the outer city, mothers without husbands have children whose scores are higher than those who have husbands present whether satisfied or dissatisfied with their marriages. The finding holds for the inner city high educated white mothers without husbands, when compared to mothers dissatisfied with their husbands. The main point of the table is, however, that a generalized parental conflict can seriously affect the child's reading skills. Evidently the family is a primary group in which it is difficult to segmentalize activity so that there is considerable leakage from one area into another. It is therefore sometimes necessary, in order to deal with the problems of educating the child, to deal with areas of life which seem quite remote from education.

We do not see marital discord as solely a matter of the idiosyncrasies of personalities. There are certain social conditions which play a role in triggering conflicts. If we think in terms of social control, or social order, it is necessary to specify how marital discord is bound into the larger social structure. This reminds us that it is an issue subject to empirical

Table 12-4

Reading Achievement by Mother's Marital Satisfaction by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

			Inner City	
Race	Mother's Education	Low Marital Satisfaction	High Marital Satisfaction	No Husband
White	Low	(155) -10.3	(94) - 9.1	(55) -12.5
White	High	(21) - 9.8	(19) - 3.3	(13) - 4.5
Negro	Low	(188) -14.6	(115) -12.9	(180) -15.3
Negro	High	(85) - 9.6	(53) - 8.2	(39) -11.3
			Outer City	
White	Low	(93) - 1.2	(85) - 3.7	(16) - 0.3
White	High	(111) + 4.1	(186) + 6.7	(22) +11.6

inquiries to determine where intervention will achieve its purposes.

There is a marked difference in marital satisfaction between inner and outer city mothers. If we look at Table 12-5 we can see that the high educated outer city mother is the most satisfied of all. This highlights the relationship between low economic status and marital discord. Low income increases the need for complementariness of goals if internal conflict over use of the limited resources is to be avoided. Put somewhat differently, if a wealthy family and a poor family had the same number of goals, the poor family would systematically have to discard more goals than the wealthy family because of limited resources. Given any value differences between husband and wife, the poor family is likely to have more friction than the wealthy family, other things being equal. Of course, there is a reverse relationship between economic success and dissatisfaction with marriage; dissatisfaction with marriage can cause a man to do poorly in his job. We do not dispute the point but assert that both processes are operating.(40) (59) It is an open issue as to whether it is better to buttress a marriage and thereby improve the child's education and the father's chances of getting a good job, or to provide a job and expect the rest to follow.

We have tried to point out through a series of items that where the parents are extremely inconsistent the child does not read as well. We have suggested that this essentially means that the child is not getting enough attention from the parent or he is not getting enough stimuli of a given kind. We presented some evidence, though far from persuasive, that among the inner city families it is both the issue of consistency and type of discipline that operate. We also attempted to present some evidence that conflict between parents of a generalized kind can seriously affect the child's performance in school.

Child's Estimate of Supervision

We turn now to more direct estimates of the amount of attention or supervision the parent gives to the child. In the last chapter we reported an item that asked the child: "Do your parents know where you are after school?" This was used as an index of the amount of involvement that parents had with their children. We found that the more parents knew where the child was (supervised), the better the child read. It is now instructive to ask how likely the child in the inner city area is to be supervised by the parent. We see in Table 12-6 that children in the inner city are as closely supervised as children in the outer city. The low educated inner city whites show least supervision and the high

Table 12-5

Per Cent of Mothers with High Marital Satisfaction, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race	Mother's Education	% Satisfied of Mothers with Husbands	% Satisfied of All Mothers
		Inner City	
White	Low	(249) 38	(304) 30
White	High	(40) 48	(53) 35
Negro	Low	(303) 38	(483) 23
Negro	High	(138) 38	(177) 29
		Outer City	
White	Low	(48) 48	(64) 43
White	High	(65) 65	(87) 58

Table 12-6

Per Cent of Children Who Say Mother Knows Where They Are After School, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race	Mother's Education	Inner City "Mother Knows..."
White	Low	(304) 72
White	High	(53) 87
Negro	Low	(483) 82
Negro	High	(177) 90
		Outer City
White	Low	(194) 83
White	High	(319) 87

educated Negroes show to a slight extent the greatest supervision.

This table moves us to ask what goals the supervision is directed to. Inner and outer city parents might both have high supervision of their children but one might have much lower educational expectations than the other. Put somewhat differently, we must differentiate between close family organizations directed to education and those not so directed. To examine this issue, we have cross-classified mothers' aspirations by the amount of supervision the child said they gave. We want to see whether a child will benefit more from his mother's supervision when she has high educational aspirations rather than low aspirations. We shall measure the benefit of supervision by the difference in reading achievement when children with mothers who supervise are compared with others. In Table 12-7 these increments are indicated under the column labeled "Difference."

It can be seen that where the mother has low aspirations there is a positive difference in nine of the twelve comparisons. For the parents with high aspirations, the differences are positive in nine of eleven instances. Thus there seems to be some benefit derived from supervision whether the mother has high or low educational aspirations. However, the bnefits of supervision are generally larger where the mother has high aspirations. If the unweighted average of the increments is used, we see that where the mother has low educational aspirations her supervision provides a 1.7 month reading advantage to the child. By comparison, where the mother has high aspirations, supervising the child gives him a 5.4 month advantage. In addition it should be pointed out that outer city parents are more likely to have high aspirations than inner city parents, and consequently will benefit from tight supervision. Equally important, outer city parents are more likely to be surrounded by others who give high supervision so that their own effects are likely to be reinforced by their neighbors. The point is that strong family organization alone is not enough; there must be educational motivation and a surrounding milieu of supervision.

There is another interpretation to be made of the finding that inner and outer city parents are equally diligent in keeping tab on their children. If we compare Table 12-6 with Table 12-5 on marital dissatisfaction, it was seen that the inner city had more marital dissatisfaction (including broken families) than the outer city. The comparison of these two tables highlights the fact that the item "child's perception of supervision" really differentiates the very poor supervisors from the rest of the population. This item classified all groups as having a majority (over 72 per cent) of the parents as good supervisors.

Table 12-7

Reading Achievement by Mother's Educational Aspirations, by Parent Knows Where Child Is After School, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

	Mother Has Low Educational Aspirations			Mother Has High Educational Aspirations		
Race and Education	Parent Knows Where Child Is All the Time or Almost All the Time	Parent Knows Where Child Is Less Often	Diff.	Parent Knows Where Child Is All the Time or Almost All the Time	Parent Knows Where Child Is Less Often	Diff.
		LOW NORMED NEIGHBORHOOD				
White	(30)	(7)		(14)	(3)	
Low	-14.1	-12.7	-2.4	- 9.8	-20.7	+10.9
White	(7)	(2)		(3)	(0)	
High	- 8.9	-11.5	+2.6	-15.7	--	--
Negro	(88)	(26)		(81)	(18)	
Low	-16.4	-17.3	+0.9	-14.6	-17.7	+ 3.1
Negro	(23)	(1)		(36)	(6)	
High	-13.6	-15.0	+1.4	-10.7	-17.0	+ 6.3
		MODERATELY LOW NEIGHBORHOOD				
White	(145)	(30)		(66)	(9)	
Low	- 9.9	-13.8	+3.9	- 7.3	-10.8	+ 3.5
White	(18)	(3)		(18)	(2)	
High	- 5.0	-13.3	+8.3	- 4.0	+ 3.5	- 7.5
Negro	(120)	(23)		(106)	(21)	
Low	-12.6	-14.0	+1.4	-13.4	-15.3	+ 1.9
Negro	(37)	(5)		(63)	(6)	
High	-10.4	-12.2	+1.8	- 5.5	-13.8	+ 8.3

(continued on next page)

Table 12-7 (continued)

Reading Achievement by Mother's Educational Aspirations, by Parent Knows Where Child Is After School, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race and Education	Mother Has Low Educational Aspirations: Parent Knows Where Child Is All the Time or Almost All the Time	Mother Has Low Educational Aspirations: Parent Knows Where Child Is Less Often	Diff.	Mother Has High Educational Aspirations: Parent Knows Where Child Is All the Time or Almost All the Time	Mother Has High Educational Aspirations: Parent Knows Where Child Is Less Often	Diff.
MODERATELY HIGH NEIGHBORHOOD						
White Low	- 5.4 (73)	- 4.9 (15)	-1.5	+ 1.5 (53)	- 7.2 (10)	+ 8.7
White High	- 0.5 (83)	- 2.0 (9)	+1.5	+ 8.3 (85)	- 1.7 (16)	+10.0
HIGH NORMED NEIGHBORHOOD						
White Low	- 2.1 (14)	- 8.8 (4)	+5.7	+ 5.2 (22)	- 6.3 (3)	+11.5
White High	+ 5.5 (16)	+ 8.5 (2)	-3.5	+10.9 (92)	+ 8.6 (16)	+ 2.3

It is very important to consider measures of supervision which separate the population on different points, since social class may differentiate only at very high levels of supervision. Moreover, it is necessary to consider measures of supervision which (like marital dissatisfaction) might seriously affect the parents' abilities to influence the child without parent or child being aware of it.

Number of Children

One of the latent bases for a loss of parental supervision is the number of children in the family. If we assume that the number of adults in a family is more or less fixed, the more children there are the less time the parents can devote to each of them. This would be especially true of very large families. It assumes also that resources of large and small families are more or less equal. In order to investigate the influence of number of children, we dichotomized the families into those with five or more children and those with fewer. By making this extreme split, we hoped to magnify the effects of large families but, nevertheless, 34 per cent of our sample families had five or more children. Moreover, 45 per cent of the families living in the inner city had five or more children.

In Table 12-8 we can see the effects of family size on reading scores where we have matched families according to neighborhood, race, and mother's education. In six of six comparisons families which were large had poorer readers than families that were smaller. The child in the small family had a 2.8 month reading advantage.

If small family size has this effect, then it should be greater where in addition the mother is educationally oriented. The mother with high educational aspirations for the child should be able to implement them when she has fewer children to socialize. By contrast, if she has a small family but is not educationally oriented, her greater opportunity to supervise may actively restrain educational efforts or turn children's attention to other matters.

In Table 12-9 we can see that where the mother has high aspirations, in six out of six instances the small family has children who read better. Where the mother has low aspirations this is true in three out of six instances. The increment in reading is always greater where the mother has high aspirations. When the mother stresses education there is a 5.1 month advantage to the child of a small family. If the mother has low educational aspirations there is only a 0.4 month advantage to a child of a small

Table 12-8

Reading Achievement by Family Size, Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Inner City	
Race	Mother's Education	4 Children or Less	5 Children or More
White	Low	(202) - 9.5	(102) -12.0
White	High	(36) - 4.9	(17) - 8.9
Negro	Low	(219) -13.6	(264) -15.1
Negro	High	(101) - 8.8	(76) -10.5
		Outer City	
White	Low	(168) - 1.7	(26) - 5.8
White	High	(274) + 9.0	(45) + 6.2

Table 12-9

Reading Achievement by Family Size, Mother's Educational Aspirations, Race, Education, and Neighborhood

	Mother Has Low Aspirations			Mother Has High Aspirations		
Race and Education	4 or Less Children	5 or More Children	Increment of Small Family	4 or Less Children	5 or More Children	Increment of Small Family
Inner City						
White, Low Education	-10.7 (136)	-12.0 (76)	+1.3	- 6.9 (66)	-12.3 (26)	+ 5.4
White, High Education	- 7.4 (19)	- 6.8 (11)	-0.6	- 2.1 (17)	-12.8 (6)	+10.7
Negro, Low Education	-14.6 (102)	-14.5 (155)	-0.1	-12.8 (117)	-16.1 (109)	+ 3.3
Negro, High Education	-12.8 (34)	-10.5 (32)	-2.3	- 6.8 (67)	-10.6 (44)	+3.8
Outer City						
White, Low Education	- 4.6 (89)	- 7.5 (17)	+2.9	+ 1.6 (79)	- 2.7 (9)	+ 4.3
White, High Education	+ 1.4 (91)	0.0 (19)	+1.4	+ 9.0 (183)	+ 6.2 (26)	+ 2.8

family. Family size serves to aid or curtail the mother's implementation of her values in exactly the manner one would expect where differential supervision was involved.

In short, we seem to have two measures that might indicate the supervision of the child. One is a self report by the child and the other is the demographic fact that neither parent nor child might explicitly recognize as entering into supervision. These two measures may be tapping different sources of parental supervision. In order to get some insight into this question, let us examine the interaction of these measures in Table 12-10.

We can see that these two measures do in fact act independently on the child's reading skills. In 11 out of 12 comparisons children from small families read better than those in large families (even where they are matched on the child's estimate of supervision). In 12 out of 12 comparisons it is also true that the child who says his mother knows where he is reads better (even where family size is matched). Using unweighted averages, we find that a child in a small family will have a 3.3 month advantage in reading under all conditions of race, education, neighborhood, and child's estimate of his mother knowing where he is. Similarly, the child whose mother knows where he is after school has a 4.4 month reading advantage over the child whose mother does not know (even when family size, etc., are matched). Where a mother is committed to education (i.e., has high education aspirations), then having a small family where she keeps tab on her child after school gives that child a half year reading advantage (5.3 months) over other children. Where a mother does not have high educational aspirations, having a small family where she keeps tab on the child after school gives the child no advantage whatsoever (0.5 months).4/

Income

Another generalized measure of supervision perhaps inadvertantly associated with family size is income. Low income families are often large. To control family size as a factor in defining income we divided the total family income by the number of people in the family. This per capita income figure was then used to constitute three categories: a) those with $1,000 per person or less, b) those between $1,001 and $2,000, and c) those with higher income.

If we now look at the effects of family size and per capita income, we should be able to see if family size has some effects which are independent of income itself. That is, will a family which is large and earning the same amount per person as one which is small still have children who read poorly. If we examine

Table 12-10

Reading Achievement by Number of Children, by Mother Knows Where Child Is After School (Child's Estimate), by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Inner City			
		Mother Knows Where Child Is		Mother Does Not Know Where Child Is	
Race	Mother's Education	4 or Less Children	5 or More Children	4 or Less Children	5 or More Children
White	Low	(173) - 8.8	(82) -11.6	(29) -13.3	(20) -13.8
White	High	(31) - 4.7	(15) - 8.5	(5) - 6.2	(2) -12.5
Negro	Low	(177) -13.3	(218) -14.7	(42) -14.8	(46) -17.1
Negro	High	(92) - 8.1	(67) -10.2	(9) -15.7	(9) -13.3
		Outer City			
White	Low	(142) - 0.9	(20) - 4.9	(26) - 5.7	(6) - 8.8
White	High	(238) + 6.7	(38) + 6.0	(36) + 4.9	(7) - 9.4

Table 12-11 we can see that among the small families the higher the income the better the child reads (14 out of 18 paired comparisons). For the large family the same thing is true (12 out of 12 paired comparisons). At the same time if we examine the poorest families ($1,000 per capita or less), we find that in five out of six instances the children from large families do worse than those from small. Among the middle income groups this is true in only three out of six cases. In short, what the table suggests is that for the poorer people family size is more crucial in reading level than for the wealthier people.

One other matter must be taken into account. We have argued that supervision by itself does not guarantee that the child will do well in school; it must be coupled with the parents' goals. Strong supervision coupled with low aspirations might even be negatively related to the child's performance.

In Table 12-12 we have taken the four deviant situations where the large families had better readers than small families and we have further classified them in terms of the mother's goals --does she have high or low educational aspirations for the child?

In those cases where the mother has high aspirations we find that children from small families do better than those from large families, although the differences are small and the number of cases limited. Where the mother has low educational aspirations we find that the children from large families do better than children from small families (one exception out of four). Our interpretation is that in both situations supervision (as reflected in a small family) is playing a key role. In the first case the small family serves to implement positive educational values and in the second case it implements negative educational values or values not relevant to education. In short, the exceptions in Table 12-11 may on analysis actually confirm the role of family size in implementing parental goals. In our society with its stress on education it is generally reasonable to expect smaller families will have children who read better. However, the more precise statement is that mothers are better able to implement their goals when they have small rather than large families (all other things being held constant--income, education, neighborhood, race).

It is likely that both income and family size interact to affect the family's capacity to implement its goals. Large families frequently mean a lower per capita income for the family. This affects the family's capacity to supervise or internalize its values. Or the lack of income may affect the morale of the family, its knowledge of and access to contraception (e.g., can't afford

Table 12-11

Reading Achievement by Per Capita Income, Family Size, Race, Education, and Neighborhood

	$1,000 or Less		$1,001 to $2,000		$2,000 or More	
Race and Education	Four or Less Children	Five or More Children	Four or Less Children	Five or More Children	Four or Less Children	Five or More Children
			Inner City			
White Low	(112) -10.6	(91) -12.2	(83) - 8.7	(11) -10.7	(6) - 2.0	(0) --
White High	(14) - 3.9	(15) - 9.8	(20) - 6.4	(2) - 2.5	(2) + 3.5	(0) --
Negro Low	(156) -14.6	(258) -15.1	(53) -10.3	(3) -13.3	(8) -16.9	(0) --
Negro High	(54) -10.9	(72) -10.7	(35) - 8.1	(4) - 7.3	(11) - 0.4	(0) --
			Outer City			
White Low	(34) - 1.7	(14) - 6.8	(100) - 1.6	(12) - 4.7	(31) - 0.9	(0) --
White High	(26) + 8.2	(20) - 1.9	(152) + 4.3	(22) + 7.8	(91) +10.0	(3) + 9.0

Table 12-12

Reading Achievement by Mother's Educational Aspiration for Child, Family Size, Income, Race, Education, and Neighborhood (For Four Selected Categories)*

		Inner City			
		Mother Has High Aspiration		Mother Has Low Aspiration	
Race and Education	Per Capita Income	4 or Less Children	5 or More Children	4 or Less Children	5 or more Children
White High Education	1,001- 2,000	(8) - 5.0	(0) --	(12) - 7.3	(2 - 2.5
Negro High Education	1,000 or less	(36) -10.3	(41) -11.1	(18) -12.1	(31 -10.2
Negro High Education	1,001- 2,000	(20) - 2.9	(3) - 3.0	(15) -15.0	(1) -20.0
		Outer City			
White High Education	1,001- 2,000	(94) + 8.0	(14) + 7.5	(58) - 1.6	(8) + 8.3

---

* This table consists of cases in Table 12-11 in which large families had children who read better than matching small families.

doctor's advice, etc.) and these in turn may lead to large families.

People with large families are at a systematic disadvantage in that they are more likely to have a lower per capita income, as Table 12-13 shows. Low income, in turn, means fewer resources and poorer supervision which finally may mean a child who does not read well. In all instances the families with five or more children have a much higher proportion in the $1,000 or less class. In terms of the education of the child, an equally important possible effect of low income is that it probably keeps the family in the inner city or forces them to move there. In Table 12-13 we find that large white families constitute 33 per cent of the low educated population in the inner city and 32 per cent of the high educated population. For the outer city families, the corresponding figures are 18 and 14 per cent respectively. A large white family in our sample has almost twice the chance of being in the inner city as in the outer city. We have seen that inner city location is a major factor associated with lower reading achievement score. There is, it would seem, a potential interaction between income, family size, and neighborhood which might seriously affect the child's reading skills and which would not be reflected in the ordinary presentation of these variables.

Single Parent Families

Another factor which might affect the family's capacity to supervise the child is the absence of one parent. We have noted that the more children there are the fewer the adults per child and the less able the adult is to implement his values (all other things being equal). However, there may not be the same number of parents in each household and we might therefore ask what happens to a family when the father is absent (i.e., is dead, separated, or divorced). This, too, reduces the ratio of adults to children.

In previous discussion on marital satisfaction we noted that there seems to be situations where a single parent home produces a child that reads as well as one from a home where both parents are available. In the outer city this definitely seemed to be the case. In the inner city the difference between single parent homes and complete homes was markedly reduced where the two parent home had low marital satisfaction. The point we reemphasize here is that the crucial variable is the parent's ability to supervise. If so, the single parent outer city families may have functional alternatives to a missing parent which could produce as good a supervisory situation as do many two parent families. The functional alternative might be the employment of full-time help, the grandmother serving a supplementary role in supervision, the

Table 12-13

Per Cent Earning Per Capita Income of $1,000 or Less by Size of Family, Neighborhood, Race, and Education

Race	Mother's Education	5 or More Children	4 or Less Children
		Inner City	
White	Low	(102) 89	(201) 56
White	High	(17) 88	(36) 39
Negro	Low	(261) 99	(217) 72
Negro	High	(76) 94	(100) 54
		Outer City	
White	Low	(36) 39	(165) 21
White	High	(45) 44	(269) 10

use of relatives, nursery schools, etc.(56)

The first point to examine is the extent to which the prior finding on family size is a function of husbandless families. These may tend to be larger families and their children thereby do more poorly. For our purposes it would not matter where the effect came from since both small families and complete families are assumed to have the same theoretical functions for our theory, i.e., to increase the supervision over the child. However, for a theory of social control or for practical school community linkages it would be important to know which factor brought about the low supervision.

If we look at Table 12-14 we can see that the effects of family size remain for situations where there are complete and broken families in ten of twelve comparisons.5/ At the same time this table allows us to consider the effect of the single spouse family on reading scores. In 8 out of 12 comparisons, broken homes have children with lower scores. This may be partly because the single spouse family is at a disadvantage in terms of adult-child ratios in the larger families. The smaller families are relatively less disadvantaged. If supervision is a major factor affecting the child's reading ability and if adult-child ratio affects supervision, it should follow that the smaller the one-parent families, the more they should have effects like complete families. The data in Table 12-14 shows a definite trend in this direction. Among the small families the complete family has better readers than the one-parent family in three out of six instances; for the large families the complete families do better in five out of six instances. Note, however, that among families with the highest median incomes (e.g., outer city families and inner city white families with high education), single parent small families do better than two-parent small families. This suggests that income in some way permits functional substitutes for supervision and in such circumstances outweighs other factors that might otherwise depress the children's reading scores.

This line of interpretation is very pertinent to the Negro-white differences in our sample. Negro families, matched with white on neighborhood and education, tend to have larger families and lower incomes, and hence may be generally in a poorer position to implement their educational aspirations. We do not refer to other family characteristics so much as to neighborhood characteristics. The Negro child is more likely to have as a schoolmate another child who comes from a single parent home with a large family. This may be crucial when it comes to learning to read which reflects behavior of the whole classroom group. A teacher with many children who cannot read will not have much time or

Table 12-14

Reading Achievement by Broken and Complete Families, Size of Family, Neighborhood, Race, and Education

		Inner City			
		Husband Present		Husband Absent	
Race	Mother's Education	4 or Less Children	5 or More Children	4 or Less Children	5 or More Children
White	Low	- 8.9 (159)	-11.4 (91)	-11.6 (43)	-17.0 (11)
White	High	- 6.9 (27)	- 6.3 (13)	+ 1.2 (9)	-17.5 (4)
Negro	Low	-12.5 (124)	-15.0 (179)	-15.1 (95)	-15.5 (85)
Negro	High	- 7.5 (73)	-10.9 (65)	-12.3 (28)	- 8.7 (11)
		Outer City			
White	Low	- 2.0 (155)	- 5.1 (23)	+ 2.2 (13)	-11.0 (3)
White	High	+ 6.0 (253)	+ 4.0 (44)	+ 12.8 (21)	-14.0 (1)

energy for a small minority who can. By contrast, a teacher with most students well prepared to read might be able to devote time and energy to a small minority who are ill prepared.

Extended Kin Aid

We have suggested above that a family which can find functional substitutes is in a position to make up the deficiencies of the single spouse families. This suggests a more general proposition, namely that those families which can bring to bear more adult supervisory capacity on the child will produce better readers.

We have suggested earlier that where a mother is less able to supervise her children (e.g., has a large family), she may be aided by neighbors if most of them have small families, but she may not expect such help if most of them have large families. This is one meaning of neighborhood effect. Now, we turn to another source of adult help--the kin of the family, defined in functional terms by their provision of services. Adult supervision of children can be viewed as one possible concomitant of exchange of services. They may be direct (such as baby sitting) or indirect (such as money which can be used to purchase baby sitting, washing machine, etc.).

To find out about help from kin we asked mothers the following question:

> "Have you received any help from any relatives or other family members?"
>
> a. Yes
> b. No

From Table 12-15 we can see that there is a general trend for those who receive help from relatives to have children who read better. In five out of six comparisons families in the total sample who received help had children who read slightly better than those from families who did not receive help.

In this table (and subsequent tables on family aid) we have given separate findings for families not on welfare as well as for the total sample population. We do this because respondents on welfare may have viewed our interview question about aid from relatives as potentially dangerous since welfare status often assumes that the recipient is not receiving any major financial help from kin. Thus respondents on welfare might have been inclined to minimize this report of family aid. The figures in Table 12-15 show that this was evidently not the case. In both cases, in five out of six comparisons those who received family help had children who read better. However, the differences were not large.

Table 12-15

Reading Achievement by Receives Help from Relatives, Welfare Status, Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Inner City			
		Not on Welfare		Total Population	
Race	Mother's Education	Received Help	Did Not Receive Help	Received Help	Did Not Receive Help
White	Low	(127) - 9.5	(110) -10.8	(173) - 9.6	(131) -11.3
White	High	(29) - 3.0	(15) -11.8	(34) - 4.2	(19) - 9.7
Negro	Low	(138) -13.2	(96) -13.6	(269) -14.4	(214) -14.5
Negro	High	(78) - 7.3	(40) -10.6	(115) - 9.0	(62) -10.6
		Outer City			
White	Low	(146) - 2.7	(42) - 1.4	(151) - 2.4	(43) - 1.6
White	High	(270) + 6.1	(45) + 5.0	(273) + 6.2	(46) + 5.7

The weak positive trend between family aid and reading skills suggests that not all adult supervision is good. As in the case of neighbors, if kin have low educational aspirations, their added supervision may not lead to higher reading scores. Furthermore, help from kin may require reciprocal obligations that we cannot in these data take into account. In addition, kin may or may not help by providing knowledge or educational background which affects the child. That is, help may be of the wrong kind. It is interesting in Table 12-15 that the exceptions occur among families with low education. Presumably, their relatives also have low education and help from them may be in a context within which the knowledge and values of the poorly educated will be reenforced. To reinforce this point, we can see what advantage accrues to a child when his family receives aid from relatives who are hypothesized to be poorly educated. On the average, aid from kin for the low educated gives the child almost no advantage in reading (0.1 months for those not on welfare, 0.3 months for the total population). By contrast, those children whose parents are high educated and who report aid from relatives have between a third and a half year advantage (4.4 months for those not on welfare and 2.2 for the total population).

Whether or not these speculations are correct, if we accept the tentative finding that educated families can use aid from kin more effectively than uneducated families, there is an important additional point to be made. The high educated families and the outer city families are more likely to say they get aid from relatives. Thus, Table 12-16 points out that 57 per cent of the low educated inner city whites say they received aid and 86 per cent of the outer city high educated whites say this. If we assume that attitudes toward helping relatives are fairly uniform across class lines, income would, indeed, be a crucial factor since the wealthier are better able to give aid.

Since we explore later in greater detail the matter of aid from kin for the nuclear family, we will not pursue it here. We have made two points with regard to aid from kin. First, kin, like neighbors, can provide functional substitutes for parents by direct or indirect service. Second, kin structures, like family and neighborhood structures, have to be analyzed in terms of their goals as well as the extensiveness of their organization. A tightly organized kin structure which stresses values not congenial to education might actually be a deterrent to the child's learning. It has been suggested elsewhere that the traditional classical extended family practice of kinship among low income families might be a case in point.(58)

Table 12-16

Per Cent Receiving Aid from Relatives, by Welfare Status, Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Inner City Per Cent Receiving Aid	
Race	Mother's Education	Not on Welfare	Total Population
White	Low	(237) 54	(304) 57
White	High	(44) 66	(53) 64
Negro	Low	(234) 59	(483) 56
Negro	High	(118) 66	(177) 65
		Outer City	
White	Low	(188) 78	(194) 79
White	High	(315) 86	(319) 86

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to suggest the scope of parental socialization effects. Considering only a few of the sources of parental supervision, we have sought to show that the effect of supervision can play an important role in inculcating the values of education which are reflected in reading scores. The amount of supervision can be modified in many ways and linkages from schools to family structures can take many forms to affect the degree of supervision. It can affect the amount of supervision by affecting the marital relationships of the spouses, it can affect supervision by increasing or decreasing the amount of income available to the family, and it can affect supervision by helping kinship exchanges of services.

Our analysis has shown that the amount of supervision is not necessarily the sole determinant of a good or a poor reader. The goals of the family or kin group must be taken into account as well. Supervision is most likely to lead to good readers where the goals of the family are positively oriented toward education. If the goals are negative toward education, then supervision might actually impede the educational achievement of the child.

Since there are many forms of supervision, it is likely that some may be functional substitutes for others. Functional substitutes which our data do not reveal might also be effective, e.g., nursery schools, professional baby sitters, mothers' groups organized for child care, etc.(66)

An important observation about modes of supervision that we have discussed is that they are more extensively used by the middle classes than the working classes. The middle class groups are less likely to have marital dissatisfactions and single-parent families. They are more likely to have higher incomes, more kinship aid, and smaller families. What is just as important is that the neighbors of middle class parents are more likely also to have added supervisory capacities. And among the working class our society systematically provides less supervisory resources and least of all to Negro families.

However, there is nothing in our study which suggests that this must inevitably be so, that functional substitutes to traditional modes of supervision might not be used.(66) What is suggested is that modes of supervision are tied into the larger social structure so that changes in the family can probably not be achieved apart from changes in the larger social milieu.

Footnotes

1. The exception being of course the situation where the child is the focal point of the dispute.

2. See Chapter 10 for complete wording.

3. The analysis would be more pertinent if it had used the item which involved discipline on educational matters since this is more clearly related to the child's reading skills. At this time we are not able to pursue this line of inquiry.

4. We have not presented the data but only the summary figures. There doesn't seem to be any real virtue in having tight parental supervision over the child unless the parents are interested in education, e.g., have high aspirations.

5. The two exceptions can again be accounted for by the mother's aspirations. Where the mother had high aspirations the child read better in the small family. The opposite was true where the mother had low aspirations.

Chapter 13

The Family Knowledge Base and Its Social Context

In previous chapters we have stressed only some of the aspects of socialization (i.e., types of discipline, its amount, its consistency) as well as the educational goals of the family. However there are many other aspects of socialization in which family and neighborhood are involved that can seriously affect the child's educational preparation. One of these--and a major one--in our opinion is the kind and amount of knowledge provided for the child about the educational ladder. Even with appropriate educational goals and effective modes of discipline, educational socialization may be inadequate because it fails to supply knowledge of how to move up the educational ladder. This may mean that a family does not understand a simple factual matter, for example, how much schooling is necessary for a given occupation. Or it might mean something more subtle, e.g., failure to inculcate good study habits, good vocabulary, etc. The knowledge we are talking about ranges from that which can be taught by the simple expedient of getting the facts from someone to the complex process of habit formation and attitude development. Some of the knowledge can be passed on by simple communication, by every day practice, or observation where neither the child nor the socializing agent is aware that learning process is taking place. For instance, the parent who has gone through college will have an understanding of the type of discipline, work habits, and achievement orientations a child must have to be educationally successful and this may be imparted to the child in everyday interaction without deliberate intent.

In this chapter we first consider three areas of knowledge that children need to get from families for maximum educational socialization. One area is factual knowledge about schools and schooling. For example, a child should know some of the basic facts about what it takes to be eligible for college, etc. A second area is knowledge of the importance of reading, vocabulary, proper study habits, etc. A third area is knowledge of the educational prerequisites of the occupational world.

These do not exhaust all important areas of knowledge but we can use them to indicate the systematic variations among different groups in our sample.

In the second part of the chapter we discuss a particularly important means of getting needed knowledge, namely by contact with adults who are themselves well educated or occupy substantial occupational positions. The assumption is that the more exposure the child has to such adults the more likely he is to be provided with the more subtle forms of knowledge. A clear example of this is the way most children learn proper grammar without being aware of it.

Knowledge About Schooling

We begin by asking how knowledgeable the parents are about the educational system. Are they aware of its more or less explicit requirements? If the family does not provide at least simple factual information about what is required to go through the system, this can obviously lead to educational problems. In ignorance, a child could get into continuous conflict or frustration in school, or miss crucial opportunities.

As an index of parental sophistication about the school career, we asked mothers the following question:

> "If a student has a lot of "C" grades in high school, what are his chances of getting into college? (READ)"
>
> a. Excellent
> b. Very good
> c. Good
> d. Fair
> e. Poor
> f. Don't know

All those who answered "excellent," "very good," or "good" together were assumed to be providing their children with a less adequate knowledge base than those who said "fair," "poor," or "don't know." We are not suggesting that parents should stress grades but only that in the present educational context an item such as this is a reasonable index of how much knowledge the parent has about the educational system.

We see in Table 13-1 that for five of the six comparisons, the family with the greatest knowledge of the educational ladder had children who did better in school. On the average the parent who provided his child with accurate information had children who read a fourth of a year better than others (3.5 months).

Differing from this type of knowledge is knowledge that involves proper study habits, vocabulary, etc., which in turn enables the child to take advantage of the educational system. As we noted in our introduction, the child may or may not be aware he

Table 13-1

Reading Achievement by Mother's Estimate of Chances of Going to College with "C" Grades by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	Good or Excellent	Fair or Poor	Good or Excellent	Fair or Poor
White	Low	-10.4 (32)	-10.3 (272)	- 8.0 (15)	- 1.7 (179)
White	High	-10.5 (6)	- 5.6 (47)	+ 2.4 (24)	+ 6.4 (295)
Negro	Low	-17.2 (66)	-14.0 (417)		
Negro	High	-11.6 (10)	- 9.4 (167)		

has absorbed such knowledge but accepts it for everyday practice. So far as reading is concerned, it is important that the child understand and accept it as an important mode of communication as he accepts and understands the spoken language. For some children the idea of reading is learned in much the same way as speaking. Even before the child is aware of what is going on, the parent begins to read stories to him. As the child grows up he finds siblings reading and parents reading and soon he accepts reading, like speaking, as something in nature. Similarly, he may learn many other "habits" associated with educational success.

As an index of the likelihood that parents will provide the child with this kind of stimulus, we asked the following question:

> Before (NAME OF CHILD) was in school, how often did you (or your husband) read stories to him (her) from a book? (CARD 1)
>
> a. Almost every day
> b. Once or twice a week
> c. Once or twice a month
> d. A few times a year or less
> e. Never

The question was dichotomized by taking all those who said "almost every day" as providing maximum exposure to educational orientations, and all others as providing minimal exposure. This dichotomization is obviously a relative one, but was necessitated by the skewed distribution of the responses.

We can see in Table 13-2 that where the mother said she read every day to her child, he became a better reader in school (6 out of 6 comparisons). Using unweighted differences as an index of effect, we can say that the pre-school child where a mother read to him eventually developed reading skills that were almost half a year ahead (4.5 months) of others. The reader should keep in mind that we are comparing children who are matched on mother's education, race, and neighborhood school.

This particular way of getting knowledge is especially important because it is difficult to see how schools or society can provide functional substitutes for such everyday socialization. In the present state of our human technology this kind of knowledge is best imparted by primary groups since it requires continuous everyday contact that is most effectively performed by primary groups.(62)

A third area of knowledge that a family can provide for a

Table 13-2

Reading Achievement by Reported Reading to Pre-School Child by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	Read to Every Day	Less	Read to Every Day	Less
White	Low	(80) - 7.6	(224) -11.3	(85) 0.0	(109) - 3.9
White	High	(25) - 3.5	(28) - 8.6	(179) + 9.8	(140) + 1.3
Negro	Low	(157) -13.5	(326) -14.9		
Negro	High	(74) - 6.9	(103) -11.5		

child is about the educational prerequisite for occupational positions: much education is justified in terms of what it will eventually mean for the child's success in future life and it is important that the child be equipped with knowledge of the education needed for success.

To see how knowledgeable the parents were about the prerequisite for occupational success we asked mothers the following question:

> How much education does a person need to get a job as a policeman?
>
> a. Some high school or less
> b. Finish high school
> c. Some college but not graduate
> d. Finish college
> e. More than that--professional school
> f. Don't know

The factually correct answer to this question at the time of this study and in the city in which the study was done was "finish high school." Therefore, we dichotomized the answers into those saying "finish high school" and all others.1/

In Table 13-3, we find only partial confirmation for the idea that knowledge about the educational prerequisites for occupations leads to better reading skills (4 out of 6 comparisons). We can see that this hypothesis seems to work for Negroes and for outer city whites, but is reversed for inner city whites. One possible explanation may be that inner city white families are overestimating the amount of education needed.2/

Note that Table 13-3 shows that the inner city Negro and the outer city white population are similar and both differ from the inner city white. This repeats earlier findings of a basic difference in orientation between the inner city white population and the rest of the population. The inner city white population has lower educational aspirations, tends to have a higher proportion from the farm, and tends to stress family centered values more. We think they might be less oriented to the role of education in occupational achievement than any other group. As we suggested in Chapter 9, by comparison prejudice forces the Negro to utilize education as a tool of occupational equality. The Negro wanting the same job as the white has to have more education. He is, however, less sensitive than the outer city white because he is less exposed to occupations which require a considerable amount of education to be successful.

Table 13-3

Reading Achievement by Mother's Estimate of Education Necessary for a Policeman's Job by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	College or Less Than High School Degree	High School Degree	College or Less Than High School Degree	High School Degree
White	Low	(145) - 9.5	(159) -11.0	(60) - 4.1	(134) - 1.4
White	High	(23) - 4.8	(30) - 7.2	(55) + 2.6	(264) + 6.8
Negro	Low	(307) -14.8	(176) -13.9		
Negro	High	(90) -10.8	(87) - 8.3		

We have now looked at three areas of knowledge--about the educational system, about educational habits, and about the occupational system--and found that the better the knowledge base of the family in these three areas the better the child will read.

Sources of Knowledge for the Child

We turn now to the potential sources of such knowledge, i.e., how did the family acquire this knowledge base, or what sources other than the family can be used by the child to gather this knowledge? There can be alternative sources of information. For instance, knowledge about the school bureaucracy can be gotten by the child directly from the school or from his peers or from adult kin or neighbors. Knowledge about the child rearing practices congenial to the development of educational habits can be gotten through the parents' experiences in education, somewhat less from kin and neighbors, and even less from school personnel, because this is a relatively private area of life. If we consider occupational knowledge, we can argue that a major alternative to the family is exposure to the range of occupations. This may come through neighbors or kin. A parent who has neighbors from many different occupational strata can become knowledgeable. A parent who has an occupation which brings him in contact with many other occupations can become knowledgeable. Finally, a parent who has kin in different occupational strata may become knowledgeable.

We begin this analysis by examining the role of the neighborhood in the spread of occupational information. Table 13-4 indicates the percentage of each neighborhood group which gave the correct answer about the occupational prerequisites for the job of policeman.

It can be seen that there is a rough hierarchy of knowledge from outer city white families, to inner city white families, to inner city Negro families. If we use the average of unweighted differences, the outer city white families have on the average a 22 per cent more knowledgeable population than the matching inner city white families. The inner city white families have on the average a 12 per cent more knowledgeable population than matching Negro families. It can be seen from Table 13-4 that mother's education also plays a role. The better educated mothers have an 11 per cent advantage over the more poorly educated ones.

The relationship between the Negro and the white inner city populations may seem paradoxical. The prior analysis has shown that the Negro family is more likely than the white inner city family to use its knowledge to increase the child's reading skills. What we now have shown is that the Negro families are

Table 13-4

Per Cent Giving Correct Answers about the Educational Prerequisites for a Policeman's Job, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race	Education	Inner City	Outer City
White	Low	52 (304)	69 (194)
White	High	57 (53)	83 (319)
Negro	Low	36 (483)	
Negro	High	49 (177)	

less likely to have this knowledge. The Negro family makes more effective use of its knowledge but seems to have less of it. The question arises as to why. One possible answer is that the Negro and white inner city differences do not represent occupational knowledge in general but only knowledge of this particular occupation--a policeman. We have already noted that the relationships between inner city Negroes and the police were more hostile than for other groups; the Negro neighborhoods were more likely to say that the police were doing only a poor or fair job. We suggested that prejudice may have strained the relationship between the Negro and the police and, as a consequence, the Negro family might be insulated from information about the police career or consider it inaccessible.

Another possible explanation between Negro and white and between inner city and outer city families is that lower class families are less exposed to the range of occupational strata. Their exposure to the police is likely to be not as an observer of a public service occupation but as objects of police authority. They do not have the opportunity to discuss informally the nature of many jobs and to learn what goes into their careers as they might with neighbors or people met occupationally on an equal plane. In order to investigate this problem we split the population into six groups--the high white-collar group (professionals, managers, proprietors), the low white-collar group (clerical and sales), the skilled laborers (craftsmen, foremen, policemen, firemen), the semi-skilled laborers (operatives, truck drivers), the unskilled laborers, and those never employed (i.e., mothers who never had a husband).3/ We used the occupations of both one-parent and complete families. Table 13-5 indicates the sharp differences in occupational exposure between inner city and outer city families.

Twenty-nine per cent of the families in the outer city have a high white-collar occupation, while 7 per cent of the white families in the inner city and 4 per cent of the Negro families have this kind of an occupation. An outer city parent would have 4 times as much chance of associating with a neighbor who was a high white-collar worker compared to an inner city white family and 7 times the chance of an inner city Negro family. Grouping all skilled and white-collar jobs, 74 per cent of the outer city families are included but only 32 per cent of the inner city white families and 22 per cent of the Negro families. Thus, Negro families in the inner city are least likely to be exposed to persons in higher occupations, the inner city whites are next, and the outer city families are, by all odds, the most. Basically, the distribution of occupational knowledge may be expected to parallel the distribution of occupations.4/

Table 13-5

Per Cent of Families in Occupational Stratum for Each Educational and Racial Group in the Respective Neighborhoods

	Inner City				Outer City	
	White		Negro		White	
Occupation	Low Ed.	High Ed.	Low Ed.	High Ed.	Low Ed.	High Ed.
High White Collar	06	12	03	07	14	36
Low White Collar	05	05	05	07	10	15
Skilled	19	23	12	14	40	28
Semi-skilled	55	46	54	52	34	19
Unskilled	14	07	23	19	02	01
Never Worked or No Answer	00	07	03	00	00	00
	99%	100%	100%	99%	100%	98%
Population	(304)	(53)	(483)	(177)	(194)	(319)

The probable effect of prejudice on occupational knowledge is reflected in the differences between the Negro and white sub-populations in the inner city when compared for educational and occupational exposure. The inner city white has less educational exposure than the inner city Negro population (viz., 16 per cent of white mothers have a high school degree or more as compared to 27 per cent of Negro mothers). Yet as noted above, the Negro family has less occupational exposure than the white and shows less knowledge about educational requirements for occupations.

If they have different areas of knowledge, the Negro and white populations should systematically stress different bases of knowledge. To explore this question we can look at data about how often parents read to their pre-school child. This item requires no occupational experience to be utilized; it is more related to education of the parent. We can see in Table 13-6 that the outer city neighborhood which had the highest proportion of educated families also had the highest proportion of those who read to their children (48 per cent), the Negro families which had the next highest proportion of educated had the next highest proportion who read to their children (35 per cent), and the white inner city family had the smallest proportion (30 per cent).

A third item asked how likely a student with "C" grades is to get into college. This information can be learned independently of the family, neighborhood, or occupation. In fact the school --presumably equally available to all--is the place where this information should be most available and all families should have access to it. We find this is indeed the general trend of the data in Table 13-7. Slightly more mothers in the outer city (92 per cent) gave the "correct" answer. The Negro and white inner city mothers nearly equal this proportion (89 and 88 per cent respectively).

Considering all three of the items just discussed, we can see that outer city neighborhoods can provide superior knowledge in all areas relating to educational success. The inner city does not provide as much knowledge, but in addition show a different emphasis. The Negro sub-groups are strong in those areas which require educational experiences whereas the white sub-groups are strong in those areas which require occupational experiences. Again, we stress the point that we are not talking about single families. A knowledgeable family living among those who are ignorant will be more hampered than one living where neighbors with equal knowledge can be reinforcing. This is especially true in areas of knowledge related to everyday child-rearing practices which are frequently not visible except to kin or neighbors. Proposals to give children equal opportunities by moving them among

Table 13-6

Per Cent Who Read to Their Children Every Day by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race	Education	Inner City	Outer City
White	Low	27 (304)	44 (194)
White	High	47 (53)	51 (319)
Negro	Low	32 (483)	
Negro	High	42 (177)	

Table 13-7

Per Cent Having Correct Knowledge of Effects of "C" Grades on College Entrance, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Race	Education	Inner City	Outer City
White	Low	(304) 88	(194) 92
White	High	(53) 89	(319) 92
Negro	Low	(483) 87	
Negro	High	(177) 94	

peers of superior ability often forget that it is parents as well who need exposure to new ideas and new models.

Knowledge from Association with Adults

Knowledge is a neighborhood and family function but there are two issues which should be explored in greater detail: knowledge obtained through what might be called "apprenticeship" experiences, and knowledge obtained through kinship lines as well as neighborhood contacts.

We have retained education of the mother as an independent factor in all our tables because we believe that association of child and parent is a crucial form of apprenticeship which provides knowledge in the educational system. The fact that in all of our analysis education plays a role independently of other factors is testimony to its role in the knowledge base of the family. It may be a better measure of knowledge than other items because it bears on most of the explicit knowledge issues as well as on the learning of study habits which are often too subtle to be accurately measured. Mother's education also is related to the neighborhood, differentiating the outer and inner city more clearly than income. Thus, in the outer city 62 per cent of the population can be classified as high educated and among them even the less educated parent has an advantage. If most of her neighbors read to their children, she might see the utility of so doing as well. In the outer city the neighborhood accelerates the educational effects of the individual family but in the inner city the neighborhood tends to depress them. In general, of course, children of the high educated mothers read better than those of low educated, but this is exceptionally the case in the outer city neighborhoods. We suggest that this is because the outer city neighborhood has an educational accelerator effect. We have discussed these matters in greater detail in prior chapters.5/

We now can explore in greater detail the web of relations which lock the child into an educational set that adds to the acceleration of neighborhood.

What role, if any, does the father's educational level play in the child's reading behavior? Presumably, where both parents are well educated, the child should have maximum influence from educational background and should do the best. Where both parents are poorly educated, the reverse should occur. Where there are mixed levels--the husband or the wife more educated--we should see a mixed consequence in the child's reading skill. Table 13-8 only partially confirms this expectation. It holds for the outer city white families and the inner city Negro families but not for the

Table 13-8

Reading Achievement by Husband's Education, by Wife's Education, by Race, by Neighborhood*

		Inner City		Outer City	
		Wife		Wife	
	Education	Low	High	Low	High
		White			
Husband	Low	(223) - 9.8	(24) - 5.3	(114) - 4.7	(85) - 1.2
	High	(28) -10.4	(16) - 8.9	(62) + 1.5	(212) + 8.4
		Negro			
Husband	Low	(253) -14.4	(93) -10.2		
	High	(51) -12.1	(45) - 6.8		

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[*] Table includes only families where the husbands are living at home.

inner city whites.

The findings for inner city white families are most instructive. They show that when the husband has a high education the child scores lower. For mothers classified as of high education, the child scores better when the husband is classified as low educated (-5.3) than if he is a high educated man (-8.9); for mothers of low education, the child does better when there is a low educated husband (-9.8) than a better educated one (-10.4). This unexpected finding does not appear for the Negro inner city family nor the white outer city family.

One interpretation might be that the father with high education who lives in the inner city may be ineffectual in the economic sense or relatively indifferent to the education of his child. Otherwise, the presumption is that he would move. This cannot be said about the Negro family of high education because it is, relatively speaking, limited in access to good jobs and housing in the outer city, and as a consequence the Negro family's lower standard of living is not a similar measure of failure.6/ In this view, better educated white fathers represent "sliders" with so many problems (economic and social) that they have lost much of the capacity to supervise their children. Their superior educational background is therefore not available to affect the reading skills of the child. In this particular instance, education is an index for two different things--knowledge and economic failure.

In addition to direct effects, education may also have a role in maintaining attitudes and values which, in turn, might affect the education of the child. For instance, we find in Table 13-9 that the father's education seems to have a strong relationship to the mother's high educational aspirations for the child. Since these aspirations have been shown to be related to reading skills, the father's education can be said to have a secondary effect on the child's reading ability. In all cases (inner city whites included), the mother is most likely to hold high educational aspirations for the child where both she and the husband have high education. With one exception, the converse also holds; that is, she is least likely to hold high aspirations where she and her husband have low education. Where education of husband and wife is mixed, the aspiration measure tends to be intermediate. Thus, even the "slider" father may provide secondary benefits for the child through his high levels of education.

Another indirect way in which parental education can affect the child is by determining the neighborhood within which he lives. Thus, where the family has both a mother and father with low

Table 13-9

Per Cent of Mothers Having High Educational Aspirations for Child, by Education of Husband, Education of Wife, Race, and Neighborhood

		Inner City		Outer City	
		Education of Wife		Education of Wife	
	Education	Low	High	Low	High
		White		White	
Husband	Low	30 (223)	25 (24)	42 (114)	51 (85)
	High	39 (28)	69 (16)	52 (62)	72 (212)
		Negro			
Husband	Low	44 (253)	57 (93)		
	High	47 (51)	73 (45)		

education, it has almost 3 1/2 times as much chance of being located in the inner city as in the outer city. On the other hand, where both have high education, it has ten times as much chance of being located in the outer city as in the inner. "Sliders," on the other hand, have almost an equal chance of being in the inner or outer city. Education evidently is reflected in location in neighborhoods more congenial to education of the child and hence to the child's capacity to read.7/

We have now seen the following with regard to parental education. First, inner city white families are peculiarly disadvantaged in terms of their neighborhood milieu inasmuch as the neighborhood has a higher proportion of sliders and poorly educated parents. Second, the father's education does play a role among the inner city Negroes and outer city whites in improving the reading skills of the child. For inner city whites it is only the mother's education that plays a positive role. Third, education has some indirect effects. It may steer people into good neighborhoods and thus aid the mother further in maintaining her educational aspirations for the child.

We may pursue the possible influence of educational level of family members by considering its inter-generational dimension. We look at the effect of the child's grandmother's education on reading skills. As compared to the disparity between husband and wife, downward educational mobility is a much more drastic index because each generation the norms of education have been rising. In the 1920's approximately 30 per cent of the population finished high school; by 1960 almost 70 per cent did so. Other things being equal, daughters would be expected to have more education than their mothers even if the daughter remained at the same economic level.

We can use educational mobility as a separate and somewhat independent measure of educational sliders, one perhaps powerful enough to detect effects in either the inner or the outer city. We can assume without hesitation that an outer city respondent who has less education than her mother is an educational "slider," and we can thereby test the hypothesis about the effects of slider families in a more convincing manner.

The data of Table 13-10 show that for both the outer city and the inner city areas children consistently score lower when their mothers are "sliders." Those mothers who have less education than their mothers have children who score lowest. In other aspects, a difference appears between the inner city white families and other families (inner city Negroes and outer city whites). The latter follow the additive model, with categories with both

Table 13-10

Reading Achievement of Child by Education of the Grandmother, Education of Mother, Race, and Neighborhood

		Mother's Education			
		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Grandmother's Education	Less than High School Degree	High School Degree or More	Less than High School Degree	High School Degree or More
White	Less than high school degree	(280) -10.2	(39) - 5.6	(171) - 2.0	(227) + 4.2
White	High school degree or more	(15) -12.5	(13) - 7.5	(16) - 4.1	(89) +10.6
Negro	Less than high school degree	(410) -14.6	(141) -10.3		
Negro	High school degree or more	(52) -15.8	(31) - 6.0		

mother and grandmother better educated doing best and those with both less well educated doing worse, those with the grandmother poorly educated and the mother well educated falling in between. For inner city whites, however, where the grandmother had more education than the mother, the child scores lower than in any other category.

Again, we want to point out that the major effects of the grandmother's education on the child may be indirect. The better educated the grandmother is, the more likely the mother is to be educated. The more educated the mother, the more likely she is to live in the outer city. Thus, from Table 13-11, it can be seen that among the inner city whites, 46 per cent of the high educated grandmothers had daughters who at least finished high school, but this was true for only 12 per cent of the low educated grandmothers. For Negroes, the corresponding figures are 37 and 26 per cent; for outer city whites, 86 and 57 per cent. It is again to be noted that the outer city has the advantage. Even the sliders in the outer city (see Table 13-10) do much better (-4.1) than those in the inner city (-12.5).

There is a further interlock between kin and neighborhood that should be noted. Let us take the intergenerational educational relationships that show the poorest readers (i.e., where the mother has been a slider--less education than the grandmother--and where grandmother and mother both have low education), and see how these families are distributed in the neighborhoods. We find that 82 per cent of the inner city white families fall in these two categories, whereas 62 per cent of the inner city Negro families and 36 per cent of the outer city whites do. Outer city families have systematically more persistent educational norms through kin generations than inner city families. These can be expected to reinforce the stronger neighborhood norms observed earlier for the outer city. In the inner city neighborhoods, such reinforcement will be negative. A family with positive kin norms will find this counterbalanced by neighbors with negative norms.

Observing grandmother's education has permitted us to make three observations. One, the educational "slider" (this time defined by the mother) will have children who do worse than any others. This holds for outer as well as inner city and probably reflects the key role of the mother. Our second observation is that for all cases the grandmother's education may have an indirect effect on the child by enabling the mother to be better educated and, in turn, move into the outer city areas. Finally, it can be reported that the grandmother's education, except for the "slider," has a direct additive effect on the child's reading ability.

Table 13-11

Per Cent of Mothers Having High School Education, by Grandmother's Education, Race, and Neighborhood

		Per Cent Mothers Finishing High School	
Race	Grandmother's Education	Inner City	Outer City
White	Low	(319) 12	(398) 57
White	High	(28) 46	(105) 86
Negro	Low	(551) 26	
Negro	High	(83) 37	

We look now at a further set of adults who might influence the educational knowledge and prospects of the child--his aunts and uncles. We asked the mothers the following series of questions:

> "How many brothers and sisters, if any, do you and your husband have?"

If the respondent said one or more she was asked:

> "How many had some college education?"

If the respondent said no siblings, she was asked:

> "Well, then, consider your relatives (and those of your husband) who are roughly the same age and who are close to you--such as cousins. How many went to college?"

We dichotomized the responses into those who had no siblings or peer relatives who went to college and those who had one or more.

The findings of Table 13-12 are somewhat between those for husbands and for grandmothers. A slider effect occurs in the inner city but not the outer city, and it seems to be slightly greater for the inner city Negro than for the white. We can also see in Table 13-12 a tendency for additive effects of peers' relations to appear. Where the mother has peer relatives who attended college and the mother herself has at least a high education, the child tends to do best, and he does worst where neither his mother nor her peer relatives are classified as of high education.

As with the other measures, the uncles' and aunts' education also has an indirect effect on the child's education. Thus, Table 13-13 shows that a mother is most likely to have high educational aspirations where she has a peer who has attended college and where she has a high education. She is least likely to do so where she is low on education and the peer is low on education. If she and the peer have different levels of education, her aspirations fall somewhere in between. This holds true for all neighborhoods.

Table 13-14 indicates the peculiar character of the inner city white neighborhoods as contrasted with the outer city white or the inner city Negro neighborhoods. The inner city whites have the lowest per cent of educated relatives. The probability of being in the outer city is obviously associated with the educational level of one's peer relations. Both of these are, of course, a function of social class, but there is also a reasonable

Table 13-12

Child's Reading Achievement by Parents' Siblings or Cousins Who Have Gone to College, by Race and Neighborhood

		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	Peer Relatives Didn't Go to College	Peer Relatives Went to College	Peer Relatives Didn't Go to College	Peer Relatives Went to College
White	Low	(224) -10.2	(80) -10.7	(129) - 2.9	(65) - 0.8
White	High	(29) - 7.0	(24) - 5.1	(143) + 2.5	(176) + 9.0
Negro	Low	(316) -14.0	(167) -15.3		
Negro	High	(80) - 9.5	(97) - 9.6		

Table 13-13

Per Cent of Mothers Who Have High Educational Aspirations for Their Children, by Peer Relatives Going to College, Mother's Education, Race, and Neighborhood

		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	Peer Relatives Didn't Go to College	Peer Relatives Went to College	Peer Relatives Didn't Go to College	Peer Relatives Went to College
White	Low	(224) 25	(80) 44	(129) 41	(65) 54
White	High	(29) 31	(24) 58	(143) 58	(176) 72
Negro	Low	(316) 43	(167) 54		
Negro	High	(80) 59	(97) 66		

Table 13-14

Per Cent of Mothers in Categories of Mother's Education and Peer Group Education for Inner City Negro Families, Inner City White Families, and Outer City White Families

		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	Peer Not in College	Peer in College	Peer Not in College	Peer in College
White	Low	63	22	25	13
White	High	08	07	28	34
		100% (357)			100% (513)
Negro	Low	48	25		
Negro	High	12	15		
		100% (660)			

possibility that peers contribute directly to each other's mobility. It is important to remember that strong bonds exist between the families in our sample and their kin. Earlier we pointed out that the percentage receiving help from relatives ranged from a low of 42 per cent among the poorly educated Negro families to a high of 86 per cent for the high educated white outer city group. We point out that the majority of families in our sample had relatives living in their neighborhood (excluding those living in the same house). The range of families having relatives living in the neighborhood went from 43 per cent for the Negro high educated group to 64 per cent among the Negro low educated groups. The white groups all had between 54 to 57 per cent with relatives in the neighborhood. Not only do the majority of our sample live in close physical proximity to their relatives or exchange significant forms of aid, but mothers also frequently view their relatives as positive models for their children. Thus, in response to a question which asked, "Do you have any relatives or family members you would especially like your children to be like?", 48 per cent of the inner city white families said yes, 58 per cent of the outer city families said yes, and 60 per cent of the inner city Negro families said yes.

Conclusion

In our discussion of the educational exposure of the child or his apprenticeship experience, we have tried to show three things. First, education of these significant adults always has an indirect effect on the child's reading skills by affecting where the family will live and the kinds of aspirations the mother will have. Second, adult kin influences reinforce a general neighborhood milieu effect. Not only are there more educated people in the outer than the inner city, but the outer city has more educational exposure from grandmother, fathers, and siblings of the parents. In other words, there is a mutual reinforcement between neighborhood and kin. Finally, we pointed out relatives had a direct effect on the child's reading skills. The better educated the relatives the better the child read, with the exception of "educational sliders."

At the beginning of this chapter we suggested that there are different areas of knowledge that a family must have if it is to be educationally successful. It must know something about the educational bureaucracies, what road blocks must be hurdled if education is to be pursued. In addition, the child must learn proper educational habits, e.g., with respect to vocabulary, positive orientation toward reading, the ability to defer gratification, etc. Finally, it was suggested that families should be alert to the educational prerequisites of occupational success.

For many children (especially as they become older) the motivation to stay in school relates to their sense of its utilitarian nature. All these areas of knowledge (with the partial exception of occupational knowledge) related to the child's reading score. We noted that families had differential access to specific areas of knowledge. The white population and the outer city population had greater access to occupational information. The highly educated families had greater access to information on educational habits. All families had equal access to simple information on the educational bureuacracies. The outer city families in general had all of these areas of information available to them. The inner city families had lesser amounts and also differed in which areas they were most knowledgeable depending on whether they were Negro or white.

Both parts of the chapter sought to make the same point: the outer city families, in contrast to the inner city ones, are in situations where all significant primary groups--neighbors and kin--continually reinforce each other on the issue of education.

Chapter 13

Footnotes

1. There are, to be sure, several problems with using a single item like this as a measure of occupational knowledge. It is clear that the closer one's occupation is to the one used in the item, the more likely an individual is to know the correct answer. We sought to take an occupation which was in the skilled and higher level because of our assumption that continuous job mobility will cause people to seek higher status rather than lower status jobs. The needs of our society seem to be moving in the direction of developing jobs which require more and more of an educational base. We are, therefore, much more concerned with the individual's educational knowledge of the skilled and white collar occupations. Ideally, we should have a spread of occupations and make our estimate of occupational knowledge based on such a spread.

2. There is some support for this hypothesis in data which we have not presented. If Table 13-3 is further classified in terms of mother's aspirations we find the inner city whites whose children do well despite errors are mothers with high educational aspirations. We speculate this is true because people with high aspirations are likely to be asserting that a job as a policeman requires more than a high school education. In other words, they are overstressing education.

3. The first group was professional, managers, and officials and simply grouped the first and third census categories (01-09 and 21-29) of professionals, managers, proprietors, and officials. The next classification we called clerical and sales and group the next two census categories (31-49). The next next classification we called craftsman, foreman, police, fireman. This was a mixture of census classifications operatives and kindred workers. We put fireman and policeman in with the more skilled groups (census classifications 51-59, 71, 72). The next classification was operative drivers, "other" protective and service groups (61-69, 75-79). This involved two census categories of operatives and kindred workers and all other private household and service workers except firemen and policemen and household workers. Our next category was laborers and household workers which again combined parts of two census classifications (81-89, and 74). Our final classification involved all people who didn't respond or never had a husband who worked. Where there was a

husband present, his occupation was used; where there was a husband but he was not present (dead, separated, or divorced) his occupation was used; where there never was a husband or where we received no answer, the respondent was put in the lowest group.

4. We feel that this estimate of differential exposure between Negro and white and inner and outer city is actually a considerable underestimate. What has to also be taken into account is the number of single parent families--no fathers. Because of income and prejudice these tend to be concentrated in a very limited area in the Negro population. Thus, information on the occupational world may be even more restricted for the Negro parent than these measures indicate.

5. See chapters 4 and 7.

6. It should be noted that this analysis excludes the husbandless families who might be the social equivalent for Negro families of the white sliders. In addition, it might be argued that the white inner city family represents a familistic authoritarian group. We have noted that it has a heavy southern rural background which is conducive to such families. As a consequence the father might tend to block attempts to elevate the child that might be viewed as a threat to his authority. The ability to break this authoritarian situation is most likely to occur where the mother is in an equal or superior power position to the husband. Thus, a mother who has an equal or greater education than the father might be in such a position. Mothers might not have as much interest as fathers in maintaining a system which clearly is disadvantageous to the children. There is some evidence in the literature that strong mothers will push for the education of the child.

7. An important methodological as well as theoretical point can be derived from comparing the joint education of husband and wife. For the Negro families in our sample, in 21 per cent of the situations the wife had higher education than the husband. By contrast, for the white population in the inner city this was so in only 9 per cent of the cases. At equal educational levels the Negro woman is more likely to be married to a man with less education than the white woman she is being compared to. In our sample, this bias has not played a serious role because it has turned out that high educated white fathers in the inner city are not associated with higher reading scores (Table 13-8).

Chapter 14

The Family's Legitimation of School Linkages--
a Specification of Social Distance
from the Schools

Thus far we have concentrated mostly on the effects of family and neighborhood primary groups on the child's ability to read. We have said virtually nothing about the schools but this is only because of the constraints of presentation. Our theory suggests that the schools have an equal role in the teaching of the child. The balance theory of linkages suggests that optimal results require the school and primary groups in the community to be in balanced coordination. In this chapter we begin the transition in our analysis from the community groups to the school. As outlined in Chapter 1, the vehicle for coordination between school and community we have called linking mechanisms. We suggest that the employment of the linking mechanisms will permit the achievement of a balance, and this depends in part on the possibility of estimating the social distance between family, neighborhood, and school. Since social distance involves two social units--community primary groups and bureaucratic schools--the amount of social distance is a function of the behavior of both of them. In this chapter, however, we want to concentrate on the extent of social distance as it is defined by the family. For the time being, we will assume that the schools (all part of the same city system) have a more or less constant role. In subsequent chapters we will speak about the school's role in defining social distance.

Before proceeding we should like to provide a general definition of what we mean by social distance.1/ This concept has three components. First, we mean the extent to which schools and families share common values, in this study, a stress on education. Second, we mean the extent to which primary groups and schools are organized to implement their values, e.g., provide proper supervision for the child, in the right amount, and on the proper basis of knowledge. Finally, we mean the extent to which families and schools have direct primary group types of contact. That is, the more face-to-face the contact, the more diffused over many different areas, the more it stresses non-instrumental relationships, the more permanent the contact, then the narrower the social distance.

Since these three aspects of social distance are not necessarily correlated, social distance cannot always be viewed as a single dimension. In the extreme, we can probably speak of those who are very distant and those who are very close. However, for many instances we will have to speak about those who are close on one dimension but distant on others. This is most important because the nature of mechanisms which will balance the relationship will vary accordingly.

With these introductory thoughts in mind, let us review the material we have presented up to now with a view to specifying the types of social distance for the important sub-groups in our sample and consider how their situations cause them to legitimate or not legitimate school community linkages.

We identify six major sub-groups in defining social distance from the schools. These are the inner city whites, the inner city Negroes, and the outer city whites, with each of these further subdivided into the educated and the non-educated groups.2/

Our analysis has shown that these groups vary in educational commitment as well as capacity to supervise their children. This has led to a seeming paradox for one group--the Negroes--which places a great stress on education, but have children who score systematically worse in reading. However, this is not too surprising when it is pointed out that the inner city white groups have better conditions for supervising and enforcing their norms than do the Negro groups. The groups cannot be properly equated. The outer city white group is clearly differentiated from both of the other groups by its superiority in emphasis on educational goals and its capacity to implement them.

We have argued that the Negro family in the inner city has a greater generalized commitment to education and to the schools than the white inner city family as one consequence of racial prejudice. The Negro may realize that to obtain the same job as the white he has to have a better education since, in our society, the educational system is more open than the occupational system. This alternative is preferred to other forms of adaptation because prejudice violates other social norms. The violated norms act as a continuous reminder that the problem is a social one, and therefore social remedies rather than individual ones are sought. The white inner city family in a similar circumstance has no explicit norm (such as equality of opportunity) which is blocked and therefore is more likely to assign blame to itself or to others as individuals. The reader will recall that the Negro parents had higher educational aspirations than white families.

Another reason why Negro families are committed to the school is that it is much more difficult for a Negro family to move out of the inner city than a white family. The white family in the inner city who wants a better education for the child often has an option to leave, and our data suggest that this is the way to provide a superior education for the child. The Negro parent does not have the opportunity to use this option. Thus the educationally oriented white family and Negro family should have two different views toward their current school. The white family might seek to isolate themselves in anticipation of leaving. The Negro family, unable to leave, might seek accommodation or control over the school as the primary way it can get a good education for the child.

Furthermore, prejudice may help to produce selective recruitment of white families into the inner city. Those who are demoralized by economic, psychological, or physical breakdown are most likely to move or stay in the inner city. Or, those who are uninformed about urban living or lacked training in urban skills will live there, such as migrants from rural regions--especially those from non-industrialized regions like the mountain areas of the south. Whatever the reason, inner city whites are likely to be indifferent to education and to the schools. In the case of demoralized families, indifference is not on principle but it is based on the fact that the family has so many problems of surviving that the goals of education seem like an impossible luxury. In the case of rural migrants, they appear to have a tradition of familism which tends to suspect bureaucratic organizations, and be suspicious of schools as one more representation of hostile public officials. The rural tradition also often fails to stress the virtues of education. Furthermore, as newcomers in an alien environment, the family tends to cling together more than usual.

Some Negro families living in the inner city resemble those described for inner city whites, but, in addition, there is a considerable group of well organized, achievement-oriented families seeking to better themselves and their children. These families are forced to live in the inner city areas because of prejudice. If they had been white, they would have been able to escape. As a consequence, the Negro group in the inner city is likely to have a higher proportion who are positively oriented toward the schools and education, and it is more likely to legitimate contact with the schools than the inner city whites. The outer city white families can be expected to have stronger ties than white or Negro inner city families. In addition to strong incentives they have a strong neighborhood and kinship interlock which supports and accelerates the family effect.

Although the Negro family may have a greater normative stress on education than the white inner city family, it probably has less ability to implement its values than the white families.

The basic reason for this is that occupational prejudice means that the Negro has a lower income than the white. In addition, housing prejudice means that even where there is equal or better income, the Negro must live among neighbors who have lower incomes than white matching families.

One of the major burdens of this study has been to show the crucial role that neighborhood plays in the teaching of the child how to read. Ignoring this factor in Negro-white comparisons is inevitably biasing against the Negro family which generally lives in a poorer neighborhood than the white one. The Negro child will be surrounded by others who are poorly prepared and, in turn, will on the average read more poorly. Low income is also crucial for the capacity to supervise since it frequently means living in neighborhoods where physical coercion is a major decision process and this tends to encourage one-factor processes which hamper the child's learning ability. The lack of income also limits options for socialization of the child, encouraging the use of physical force which again deter the development of multi-factor reasoning. Poorer jobs and jobs that stress physical strength and authoritarian norms also encourage one-factor reasoning detrimental to education. The lack of income in addition hampers the amount of supervision which can be supplied. Sometimes this is indirect in that it means large families because of inadequate knowledge of contraception. Having larger families, all other things being equal, permits the parent less time to socialize with the child, and time may be crucial for socialization processes that lead to multi-factor reasoning. Similarly, chronic unemployment may lead to marital breakup which in turn limits the time of adults with the child. Finally, the Negro family is less exposed to occupational sources of information with which to motivate children. All of these factors are exacerbated by the neighborhood milieu. As a consequence, the Negro family has less capacity to implement its values.

What we are saying is that prejudice operates to make Negro families more sensitive to education but at the same time it locates them in a neighborhood milieu which makes it more difficult to implement these values. This is because the Negro family has systematically less support for implementing its values. Our findings of lower reading scores for inner city Negro children are partly misleading since we cannot really match Negro and white families by similar neighborhoods.3/ If Negro and white families had been matched on neighborhood as well as on family characteristics, we might not have found any differences at all. We might even have found that Negro children read better than whites because the Negro family is, despite its disadvantaged economic position, far more likely than the white family to stress educational values.

Acceptance of the School

Let us now see whether the Negro family legitimates school linkages more than the white inner city family. The white inner city family has two somewhat different reasons for not legitimating educational linkages to its current school. First, the educationally oriented families will do better by isolating themselves and escaping the neighborhood. Second, there is likely to be around them a much heavier concentration of people who are not educationally oriented.

We can study the extent to which the families legitimate linkages to the school by looking at the norms they express on this issue, and by observing the nature of contacts they have with schools. There are a series of questions we asked the parents which sought to reflect the normative approach to school community linkages.

One question was:

> "Which one of these ways comes closest to the way you think school people and parents *should* be in touch with one another? (HAND CARD 9)
>
> a. *Contact mostly when there are special problems*--such as misbehavior, bad grades, etc.
> b. *Regular scheduled contact*--mainly in teacher-parent conferences, homeroom club meetings, etc.
> c. *Frequent visits to school*--be invited often to come and learn more about what happens at school.
> d. *Frequent home visits as well as visits to school*--school people visit family as well as invite parents to school."

We dichotomized the answers with those answering the last two categories being called "frequent contact." In Table 14-1 we can see that there is a small but consistent difference in the direction anticipated. The Negro respondents tend to prefer more frequent contact than whites in each neighborhood and at each educational level. Using unweighted averages as our estimate, we can see that the Negroes in the inner city had 9 per cent more than the white inner city families who wanted frequent contact.

One further factor is of some interest. Among the whites, the more highly educated respondents prefer less school community contact than the lower educated respondents. However, the

Table 14-1

Per Cent of Mothers Saying There Should be Frequent Contact Between School and Home, by Education, Race, and Neighborhood

		Achievement Normed Neighborhoods			
		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	Low	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High
White	Low	50 (54)	38 (250)	30 (151)	38 (43)
White	High	43 (12)	33 (41)	26 (193)	24 (126)
Negro	Low	56 (213)	42 (270)		
Negro	High	58 (66)	46 (111)		

difference is not large enough to provide evidence that high educated whites in the inner city prefer to withdraw. By contrast, the highly educated Negroes have a slight but persistent trend for the educated Negro to prefer more frequent contact than the non-educated Negro. This finding on educational level appears also in the outer city neighborhoods. These trends are not strong enough to say with conviction that the educated white puts less emphasis on close contact with his current school than the educated Negro. The data presented in Table 14-1 do suggest a trend along these lines.

Another thing to note in Table 14-1 is that with one exception for the white families, the higher the achievement norm of their neighborhood, the less likely families are to prefer frequent contacts with the schools. This would be an understandable phenomenon if our balance theory of coordination was indeed in operation.4/ As the reader recalls, this theory suggests that the more congenial the family and neighborhood are to the goals of the school, the less need there is to close social distance, and the less congenial they are to the goals of the organization, the greater the need to close the social distance.5/

To conclude, what this first table suggests is that the Negro families tend to legitimate more frequent contact than the white families and, second, that the more highly educated whites seem to legitimate less contact than the poorly educated ones, while for the Negroes this is not true. There is some possibility that the highly educated inner city whites might be fleeing the schools rather than seeking to use them as the Negro high educated families seem inclined to do. Finally, there is some evidence that the balance theory may be operative. People in poor educational areas seem to stress norms that close distance more than people from high educational areas.

To get some further insight into what each group legitimates as appropriate school-community contact, we asked the respondents a series of questions on which areas it would be acceptable for schools to contact families:

> "People have different views about what is right for schools to talk to families about. Would you please tell me whether you think it is right for the schools to talk to parents about the following things. You can use the answer card.
>
> a. First, if someone from the schools talked with parents about opportunities for a child to go to college, would you say . . .

1. It is certainly right to talk about this
2. It is probably right to talk about this
3. It is probably not right to talk about this
4. It is certainly not right to talk about this

b. Suppose someone from the schools asked a husband and wife about quarrels they have been having that might affect the child?

c. And what if they urged an unemployed father to take training that would help him find a job?"

The same answer categories were used on all three questions. On this and several other items our information can be analyzed only by the proportion of Negro families in the several schools, but not by racial designation for the families. Therefore, interpretation must be cautious since the relationships are indirect. Schools have been grouped to separate also the Great Cities Project schools, where contact with families was systematically encouraged, and other schools.

Table 14-2 shows that respondents in the school areas which were predominantly Negro (99%) tend to give slightly more positive answers than those which were predominantly white. Since this is based on ecological correlations, we must treat it with caution. However, if it should hold up, it suggests that the Negro families not only legitimate more contact than whites, but they legitimate a wider span of activities for the school than the whites. Also, the poorer the neighborhood, the more areas of activity the parents accept as a legitimate concern of the school. Thus, if one compares the white inner city families with the white outer city families, the former say it is certainly right for schools to intervene in family quarrels and job retraining to a greater extent than the families in the outer city.

Another way of getting at the normative orientation of families toward the school was to ask the following question which relates only indirectly to school-community contact:

> "And now I want to ask about the kind of job (THE NAME OF THE SCHOOL WAS INSERTED HERE) is doing when it comes to teaching children. Leaving aside the facilities, are the people at (NAME OF THE SCHOOL) doing a much better job, some better, about the same, some worse, or much worse, compared to other Detroit schools?

Table 14-2

Per Cent Saying "It is certainly right for schools to talk to parents about college, family quarrels, and job retraining for the husband," by Project and Non-Project Neighborhood and Racial Majority

	Per Cent Saying Alright to Talk to Parents About College Opportunities for Child	Per Cent Saying Alright to Talk about Job Retraining for Unemployed Father	Per Cent Saying Alright to Talk About Family Quarrels	N
Project Schools Majority White	82	68	51	(165)
Project Schools Majority Negro	90	82	58	(175)
Non-Project Schools Equally Mixed Negro and White	84	77	67	(167)
Non-Project Schools Majority White	81	68	51	(165)
Non-Project Schools Majority Negro	86	78	57	(345)
Outer City (White) Moderately High Normed	87	55	47	(344)
Outer City (White) High Normed	92	65	47	(169)

a. Much better
b. Some better
c. About the same
d. Some worse
e. Much worse"

The difference between Negroes and whites in the Low Achievement areas (Table 14-3) shows that where whites are in the majority respondents are more dissatisfied than in school areas where Negroes are in the majority. The former have 42 per cent who say the school is doing a better job than most, while the latter have 55 per cent who say this. From this table it can be seen that the same general finding is true of the Moderately Low Achievement neighborhood. Where the schools are clearly dominated by white families, 31 per cent say they are satisfied, while those clearly dominated by Negro families have 41 per cent who say they are satisfied.6/ Thus, the schools dominated by Negro families tend consistently to give more positive statements about how their schools are doing than whites. This seems to reflect a potential for greater cooperation with the teachers.

It might be argued that Negro mothers answer as they do because they are more passive or fearful of giving negative evaluations. However, if we ask the families to rate the merit of the schools, we find respondents in areas dominated by Negroes just as critical as white respondents.

Thus we asked the following question:

"Do you sometimes think that parents can teach reading and arithmetic better than school teachers?"

Table 14-4 shows the per cent who say "yes." If we assume that a yes answer to this question is critical of the teacher, we find that the inner city parents tend to be more critical than the outer city parents. This seems reasonable in the sense that inner city children are doing much more poorly than the outer city ones. What is central to our consideration is that the schools dominated by the Negro families are as critical as the whites, if not slightly more critical. As such, it would seem that they are not passively accepting the schools as good or giving stereotyped answers.

To summarize, we have sought to demonstrate that the Negro family (i.e., respondents in school areas dominated by Negro families) has a more positive attitude toward the frequency and scope of school-community interactions. There is some evidence that educated white families are less likely to legitimate school

Table 14-3

Per Cent Saying School Is Doing a Much Better or Somewhat Better Job Than Other Schools in Detroit by Neighborhood and Racial Majority

Neighborhood Achievement Norm and Racial Proportion	Per Cent Saying School Is Better
Low and Majority of Families White	(84) 42
Low and Majority of Families Negro	(261) 55
Moderately Low and Racially 50-50	(167) 19
Moderately Low and Majority of Families White	(246) 31
Moderately Low and Majority of Families Negro	(259) 41
Outer City Moderately High All White	(344) 49
Outer City High All White	(169) 39

Table 14-4

Per Cent Saying Parents Can Do a Better Job Than Teachers in Teaching Reading and Arithmetic, by Education, Race, and Neighborhood

		Achievement Normed Neighborhoods			
Race	Education	Low	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High
White	Low	(54) 11	(250) 13	(151) 07	(43) 14
White	High	(12) 17	(41) 12	(193) 09	(126) 09
Negro	Low	(213) 13	(270) 17		
Negro	High	(66) 14	(111) 20		

contacts, and as such there may be some avoidance of the use of school-community activities.

Family Contacts with Schools

At this point we want to turn our attention away from the normative issue and more directly to the actual contacts that take place. In so doing we deal explicitly with the question previously raised of whether high educated white families seem to avoid school-community contacts in the inner city. The most obvious way to approach the problem of contact with the school is to look at the overall total amount.

For the analysis we are now embarking on, it is necessary to take into account that four Great Cities Project schools in our sample of 18 schools had special resources for programs of communication with the community. We therefore divide our inner city schools in the analysis by project and non-project schools when studying contacts. As expected, these schools with extra resources, had more contact with families than other schools.7/

On the measure of overall contact, we find (Table 14-5) that there is some evidence that educated white families avoided contact.8/ Educated white families have less contacts than the educated Negro families. In the project school category, 59 per cent of white families have high contact (41 or more), and among the Negro families 71 per cent. For the non-project schools, the figures are 28 and 42 per cent. There is some evidence of avoidance among the poorly educated whites. Thus, 31 per cent of them living in the project school areas have frequent contacts whereas this is true of 46 per cent of the Negro families. For the non-project schools, the figures are 13 and 21 per cent. In short, Table 14-5 shows that Negro families in general have more contact than white families. The poorly educated whites are least likely to have school contacts.

One other observation should be noted from Table 14-5. The fact that our sample included experimental schools deliberately attempting to increase school-community contacts permits us to test an assumption with which we started this chapter. We said that social distance is to be defined not only by the families but by the schools as well. Up to now we have treated the contributions of the schools as constant but we can now see what the effects of the experimental project schools are. These schools had funds to hire three extra staff members: a school-community agent, a school social worker to work in that school at least half a week each week, and a reading coaching teacher. In addition, funds were available for after-school programs, trips by the

Table 14-[illegible]

Per Cent of Families Having 41 or More Contacts (Any Kind) with the School, by Project and Non-Project Schools, Race, and Education

Race	Education	Project Schools	Non-Project Schools	Outer City Schools
White	Low	(114) 31	(190) 13	(194) 25
White	High	(17) 59	(36) 28	(319) 40
Negro	Low	(158) 46	(325) 21	
Negro	High	(51) 71	(126) 42	

children into the community, etc. The rationale for these additions to the staff was "to get closer to the community." The project schools, in contrast to the non-experimental schools, had a more open-door view toward the community, i.e., they sought to close the social distance.

As Table 14-5 indicates, they were remarkably successful. When this study was done in 1962 the stereotype of inner city schools was that of "fortress schools." Parents were actively prevented from entering the school. By contrast, the middle class (viz., outer city) schools were assumed to have much closer ties with the community. If we use the outer city families as a base line of "close" school-community relations, we can see how well the experimental schools achieved their aim. The low educated inner city white families in the non-project schools seem to fit the stereotype, since only 13 per cent of them had "frequent" contact with the schools as contrasted to almost twice as many (25 per cent) among the outer city whites. Similarly, the non-project high educated inner city whites had 28 per cent who were frequent contacters whereas 40 per cent of the high educated whites in the outer city had such contacts. But the inner city white families in areas of the experimental schools actually had a higher percentage of "frequent" contacters than the outer city families (e.g., 31 vs. 25 per cent for the low educated and 59 vs. 40 per cent for the high educated). It is apparent that, at least among our sample schools, social distance can be actively manipulated or changed by changing the structure of the bureaucratic organization (the school) as well as by affecting situations of the family.

Differences in family situations do make a difference in total contact, as we can see in Table 14-5. The educated families had more contact than the less educated families in all categories, and the Negro families always had more contact than the white families. We have argued that these differences are in part a function of educational values and aspirations which evidently contribute as well to the equation defining social distance.

These findings provide some documentation for our view that white families in the inner city are less likely to view their current school as a major instrument of their fate. We may also say that, within our sample, the school administrative structure and style did play an important role in altering the social distance between family and school. Those who would argue that inner city families are so hostile and so indifferent to education that the schools can do nothing, will find little comfort from these findings.

We should look into the nature of contacts before concluding our consideration of relative contacts of white and Negro families of the inner city. Contacts can be initiated by the school as well as by the families. If the contacts of the white families are a function of school initiated action while those of the Negro families are the consequence of family initiated action, or if the contacts of the white families are a function of difficulties the children are having in schools while those of the Negro families are a function of voluntary behavior, we might argue for a selective difference of the educated whites. To examine this issue we can look at the linking mechanisms which we have called Voluntary Association. It is a mechanism of coordination which consists of items where the total initiative for contact with the school rests with the family.9/ If we look at this item in Table 14-6 we find some evidence for selective disinterest in the school among the educated whites in the Project schools. Only 35 per cent of the educated whites use this procedure in the Project schools, whereas 76 per cent of the high educated Negroes do so. Likewise, among the low educated families, 39 per cent of the whites use this procedure and 59 per cent of the Negroes use it. If we examine the next mechanism closest to Voluntary Association in family initiative, called the Settlement House,10/ we can make the same interpretation. (See Table 14-7.) The inner city whites utilize this mechanism less than the Negro families.

As we interpret these two tables (14-6 and 14-7), they suggest that the white families from the Project schools may be in contact with the school because their children are having some difficulties and the school seeks them out. Where their children are doing well they may, on the contrary, avoid school contact. By contrast, the Negro educated families seem to utilize the school in a more positive fashion.

Further light on this interpretation may come from an item in which we asked the teachers to rate the children in terms of their behavior in school. (See Chapter 3.) The children were classified into those who were judged above average in behavior and all others. If our speculation is correct, that white families contact the school because their children are in trouble, the relationship between contact and the teacher's rating of children's behavior should appear. Table 14-8 indeed adds some confirmation. The group among the whites with the highest proportion coming into the school was the high educated white whose children were given a negative behavior rating. Fifty-six per cent of these parents had contact, as compared to 21 per cent of the high educated whites whose children are not considered behavior problems. By contrast, there is virtually no difference for Negro families among the high educated families with children having negative and those having positive ratings. Thus, 48 per cent of those having children in trouble have frequent contacts, whereas

Table 14-6

Per Cent of Families Using Voluntary Association Linking Mechanism More Than Five Times, by Project and Non-Project Schools, Race, and Education

Race	Education	Project Schools	Non-Project Schools	Outer City Schools
White	Low	(114) 39	(190) 38	(194) 55
White	High	(17) 35	(36) 72	(319) 79
Negro	Low	(158) 59	(325) 47	
Negro	High	(51) 76	(126) 70	

Table 14-7

Per Cent of Families Using the Settlement House Linking Mechanism More Than Five Times, by Project and Non-Project Schools, Race, and Education

Race	Education	Project Schools	Non-Project Schools	Outer City Schools
White	Low	38 (114)	17 (190)	37 (194)
White	High	47 (17)	36 (36)	52 (319)
Negro	Low	53 (158)	37 (325)	
Negro	High	80 (51)	60 (126)	

Table 14-8

Per Cent of Families Having Contact (Any Kind) 41 Times or More, by Teacher Behavior Rating of Children, Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Inner City	
Race	Education	Positive Behavior Rating	Negative Behavior Rating
White	Low	(136) 20	(168) 19
White	High	(28) 21	(25) 56
Negro	Low	(178) 30	(305) 28
Negro	High	(88) 52	(89) 48
		Outer City	
White	Low	(90) 29	(104) 22
White	High	(163) 40	(156) 41

52 per cent with children rated as positive do so. In the outer city, we find the same pattern for white families, with roughly 40 per cent of those in trouble and those out of trouble making contact. In other words, among the educated families the whites in the inner city whose children are not in trouble seem to be relatively more isolated from school contacts. Among the Negroes, if there is any trend it is the opposite--families with children who are positively rated are most likely to make contact with the school.

If we look at Table 14-9, we can see the same tendency, using a different measure, the reading achievement score of the child in the 4th grade (i.e., 1 to 2 years before our study date). Where the child was below the national average, we will call him a poor student, and where he is above the national average we will call him a good student. In Table 14-9 it can be seen that the high educated white inner city family is most likely to have school contacts when his child is a poor student (44 per cent have frequent contact) as contrasted with the situation when the child is a good student (22 per cent have frequent contact). This is in contrast to the high educated Negro, who makes frequent contact (approximately 50 per cent) whether his child was a good or poor student in the 4th grade. The same holds for outer city white families. The number of cases in the category of inner city whites with high education is small so the finding can be taken as only suggestive, but it is consistent with other tables.

Additional insight into this issue of the differential use of school contacts, as well as some insight as to whether Negro and white families have different attitudes and actions with regard to school contact, may be found in responses to the following question:

> "Some parents are in touch with people at school only when the school asks them. Other parents take the first step themselves. Have you ever been the one to take the first step?"

If the respondent answered "yes," she was then asked the following question:

> "Do you usually make the first move like this, or is it usually the school that asks to see you:
>
> a. "R" mostly
> b. About equal
> c. School mostly
> d. People who answered 'no' to the first question."

Table 14-9

Per Cent of Families Having 41 or More School Contacts (Any Kind), by Child's Fourth Grade Reading Achievement Score,* Race, Education, and Neighborhood

Fourth Grade Iowa Score	Inner City White With Low Education	Inner City Negro With Low Education	Outer City White With Low Education
Below National Average	(213) 21	(405) 30	(102) 25
Above National Average	(52) 23	(45) 29	(84) 26

	Inner City White With High Education	Inner City Negro With High Education	Outer City White With High Education
Below National Average	(34) 44	(139) 50	(113) 44
Above National Average	(09) 22	(31) 55	(186) 45

---

[*] Taken 1 to 2 years before the interview. For 8 per cent of our sample (127 cases) we do not have this information.

We compare Negro and white respondents as to the per cent who said they mostly took the first step or they were about equal to the school. If we look at Table 14-10 we can see that the Negro respondent is again more likely than the white to contact the school rather than wait for the school to contact her. Thus, in the inner city 33 per cent of the poor educated whites initiated contacts at least half the time, whereas 40 per cent of Negro families did this. Among the highly educated families the figures were, for the whites, 43 per cent and, for Negroes, 61 per cent.

This table has another interesting trend. It will be recalled that when we asked the question as to the acceptable form of contact (Table 14-2), the outer city neighborhoods accepted a more restricted concept of school-community contact compared to the inner city areas. However, as Table 14-10 shows, the outer city whites take more initiative than the inner city whites. Thus, among the low educated whites, 44 per cent in the outer city tend to take the initiative in school contacts whereas only 33 per cent of the inner city whites do. For the inner city, it is 43 per cent of high educated whites and for the outer city it is 49 per cent. Again it is interesting that the inner city Negro has approximately the same per cent taking initiative as the outer city whites (46 per cent of the Negro families taking initiative and 47 per cent of the white families).

Another aspect of hypothesis can be explained in the following question:

> "Do you expect to move out of this neighborhood within the next year, within three years, within five years, longer than that, or don't you ever expect to move?"

We discussed this item in Chapter 5, looking at the per cent of respondents who said they expect to move within the next year. If our speculations are correct, more white families than Negro should expect to move and the high educated whites should expect to move most of all.

In Table 14-11, the findings are mixed. Thus the inner city whites intend to move more than the outer city whites (35 per cent compared to 9 per cent). More to the point, the inner city whites intend to move more than the inner city Negroes, where 23 per cent intend to move. The idea is supported that whites in the inner city have an alternative that makes contact with the school less useful or desirable than Negroes do. However, Table 14-11 does not confirm our speculation on differences between the high educated and the low educated whites, nor do we find the anticipated differences between neighborhoods within the inner city

Table 14-10

Per Cent of Respondents Who Generally Initiated Any Contact With Schools, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Achievement Normed Neighborhood			
Race	Education	Low[a]	Moderately Low[a]	Moderately High[b]	High[b]
White	Low	25 (54)	35 (250)	42 (151)	49 (43)
Negro	Low	39 (213)	41 (270)		
White	High	50 (12)	41 (41)	47 (193)	53 (126)
Negro	High	67 (66)	57 (111)		

a. Inner city neighborhoods

b. Outer city neighborhoods

Table 14-11

Per Cent of Families Planning to Move in One Year by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Achievement Normed Neighborhood			
		Inner City		Outer City	
Race	Education	Low	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High
White	Low	(54) 24	(250) 38	(151) 08	(43) 05
White	High	(12) 25	(42) 36	(193) 11	(126) 10
Negro	Low	(213) 24	(270) 20		
Negro	High	(66) 32	(111) 21		

where a reversal occurs with those in the low neighborhood having less intention to move than those living in the moderately low income neighborhoods. Our hypothesis seems to have more merit for the outer city where the educated consistently tend to say they expect to move more than the less educated. This may be because education and income are better correlated in the outer than in the inner city, and the intention to move is governed by the realistic financial ability to move rather than by the reference orientation toward the neighborhood.

However, this reference orientation might very well govern willingness to enter school community contacts and we can examine this possibility by looking at the reference group question used in Chapter 5:

> "How many of the following people live in this neighborhood? . . . people who go out of their way to be friendly?
>
> a. Many
> b. Some
> c. None
> d. Don't Know"

In Table 14-12 we show the percentage of respondents who said there are some or many people who go out of their way to be friendly. The table shows that there is a rough relationship between the socio-economic level of the area and the percentage who say neighbors are friendly. Central to our consideration here are the whites in the low normed neighborhood, the group in the inner city with the least intention to move. They also have the most negative orientation toward their neighbors with 75 per cent of them saying at least some neighbors were friendly, whereas 81 per cent of whites in the higher income area of the inner city gave this positive response, and for the outer city 93 per cent. Eighty-one per cent of the inner city Negroes living in the low area made this response, whereas 84 per cent of the Negro families living in the moderately low area gave this answer.

If we now summarize the discussion on plans to move and reference orientation, we find that whites in the inner city systematically intend to move more frequently than Negroes or whites in the outer city; when they do not intend to move as often (the low normed neighborhood), they express a more negative orientation toward their neighbors. The ecological correlations tend to support the idea that for the inner city whites there may be a selective isolation from schools.

We may restate our view that the Negroes use the schools differently than do the whites because of prejudice which keeps

Table 14-12

Per Cent of Respondents Saying Some or Many Neighbors Friendly, by Race, Education, and Neighborhood

		Achievement Normed Neighborhood			
Race	Education	Low	Moderately Low	Moderately High	High
		(53)	(253)	(151)	(44)
White	Low	75	79	91	93
		(12)	(40)	(193)	(126)
White	High	75	82	94	92
		(213)	(271)		
Negro	Low	80	82		
		(66)	(110)		
Negro	High	85	88		

him from moving into nicer neighborhoods if he has the money, but more importantly, acts systematically to prevent him from getting more money. With the educational ladder more open than the occupational one, the Negro is systematically pushed to utilize education as a major basis for overcoming racial prejudices and becoming economically advanced. This is what we mean when we say that there are institutional pressures on the Negro to utilize and think about education differently from those whites at a similar economic level. These well known facts on the national scene are clearly evident, as we have shown, in our sample. In the inner city 54 per cent of the Negro families earn $3,000 or less, whereas 40 per cent of the white families earn this little. However, 27 per cent of the Negro families have a high school degree or more, compared to only 14 per cent of the white families. In short, the Negro family living in the inner city tends to be poorer and better educated than the white. To achieve the same income level he must have more education.

Summary and Conclusion

There is some evidence that the Negro families in the inner city legitimate more school community contacts and in a wider area of life than the inner city white families. In addition, they tend to have more contact than the inner city whites; they tend to have more voluntaristic or family initiated contact than these whites; they tend to take more initiative in their school contacts than these white families; they are less likely to employ a technique of isolation from schools while waiting to move from their current situation because they have less intention to move than these white families. Furthermore, they tend to have a more positive reference orientation toward their neighbors than these white families. Finally, there is some evidence that they need more education to earn the same living as the whites. As a consequence of this, we argue that the Negro families systematically take a more positive attitude than the whites in comparable economic circumstances toward the school in his neighborhood and education. Therefore, the better families are more likely to utilize school-community linking mechanisms. Furthermore, it takes far less powerful linkage mechanisms to bring them closer to the school.

On the other hand, it must also be understood that a positive orientation toward education and schools is not sufficient to produce a good reader. As we shall continue to document, the Negro families are systematically deprived of socializing experiences which train their children to compete in the educational world. As a consequence, their children do not read as well as whites.

If all these facts are taken into account simultaneously, it would suggest that Negro families, because of their positive orientation and because of their prior cultural deprivation, are most easily helped by school-community linkage procedures.

The whites in the inner city, because of their negative attitude, are harder to attract into the schools, and because they are less culturally deprived there is less room for the present modest forms of school-community links to affect them. The fact that they are in the inner city is for them, much more than for the Negro, evidence of economic, social, or psychological deficiencies rather than cultural deprivation.

In this chapter, we also introduce for the first time the role of the school in determining social distance. We pointed out that the experimental schools which were explicitly set up to close distance with the community did an extremely effective job. Inner city parents in the experimental schools had as much school contact as parents in the outer city. By contrast, inner city parents who were not part of the experimental schools had much less contact. We viewed this as evidence that changes in social distance may be affected by either the schools or community as suggested in our balance theory. Having devoted so much of our attention up to now to the role of the community groups in defining social distance, we shall in the remaining parts of this study attempt to detail the ways in which the school staff affect community relations.

Footnotes

Chapter 14

1. We make no pretense that this is a complete or even sophisticated definition. It is a working definition intended to provide some rough guidance for the reader as to our intent. For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient. We would hope that when this field is a little more explored we shall be able to give some very detailed "operational" definitions of social distance and perhaps even some "nominal" ones as well.

2. The number of sub-groups one defines is, in part, a function of the detail with which one wants to define social distance. The more detailed this definition the more one can then specify the type of mechanisms which will be most appropriate. What we hope to do in this study is lay out the general theoretical framework. This will allow any specific case to be classified under the general rubric and provide a basis from which to derive specific mechanisms. We proceed in this way because we believe that the characteristics of groups and social situations vary markedly over time and place. To build a theory around specific instances would make it of very limited use.

3. The reader might then ask why didn't we match them. We would reply, in part because it is very difficult if not impossible to find suitable matches in our society. The very operation of prejudice is such that one can find such matches only after considerable effort.

   Typical was our attempt to find elementary schools that were dominated by Negro middle class parents to match those of our white middle class schools. They were not only rare but they were so unique as to make one wonder in what sense they could ever be a match.

4. Another plausible line of reasoning might be that low status people seek affiliation with high status ones. Thus, in low income areas the parents are likely to be lower status than the staff and therefore seek affiliations, while in the high status areas the opposite would be true. There is one bit of evidence that questions this analysis. Hollister, who uses the same data (Chapter 18), points out that teachers in the low income areas are more likely to prefer increased contact,

while those in the high income areas prefer less contact. The opposite should be true if the status considerations were the only ones operating.

5. The reader can recognize that there is a possible overlap in explanation between a balance theory of coordination and our view that the educated white families in the inner city will attempt to escape their neighborhood. Both theories would tend to predict that highly educated whites would put less emphasis on school-community relations. They would tend to differ in that the balance theory would not make this argument for inner city families as much as for outer city families, while the hypothesis of escape would not make this prediction for the outer city families as much as for the inner city families. However, if both theories were in full operation, we would have exactly the phenomenon we do have in which highly educated white families under all circumstances do not put as much emphasis on frequent school-community contact.

6. What is most interesting is that where one takes the schools which are evenly split, only 19 per cent say they are satisfied. We pointed out in Chapter 8 that in our sample racial imbalance makes very little difference for the child's reading achievement once other factors are taken into account. We shall in a later section on school staffs say something about the effects of racial balance on school-community contacts.

7. This split into project and non-project schools is practically equivalent to the split between low and moderately low achievement normed neighborhoods. Three of the project schools were among the four schools that made up the low normed neighborhood, while only one non-project school was in the low normed group. The one project school that was not part of the low normed grouping was very close in average reading achievement score to some schools in the low normed category. As a consequence, the shift in definition from achievement norms to project-non-project means a shift of one school out of the low normed neighborhood and a shift of one school into it. Otherwise they are identical.

8. We asked the respondents approximately 15 questions on the amount and type of contacts they had with the school which the sample child attended. Overall contact is a total measure of all these items. See Chapter 16 for complete set of items.

9. The mechanism we called voluntary association is represented in prototype by the parent-teacher associations. A detailed definition will be given in Chapter 16 where the linking mechanisms are the major focus.

10. By "settlement house" we mean parent-school activities which require involvement on the part of the parents, and where there is a professional in charge. Prototypical of this kind of activity would be after-school classes for parents. For the detailed conceptual definition, see Chapter 16, where linking mechanisms are the major center of focus.

Chapter 15

Linking Mechanisms--The Theory of Their Operation, Their Theoretical and Empirical Definition

We have now come to a point in our discussion where it is useful to describe the nature of linking mechanisms and the theory of their dynamics. In addition, it is necessary to specify how we have sought to operationalize these mechanisms for the present study. After presenting this theoretical and definitional material we can begin to analyze how school and family interact to affect the child.1/

Theoretical consideration of issues involved in coordinating bureaucratic organizations with external primary groups is noticeably lacking in the literature on social organization.2/ Because organizations are very much concerned with maintaining communication with external primary groups, however, it is relatively easy to find many illustrations of linking mechanisms. From a review of some of this literature eight reasonably distinct types have been identified, although they are often found in combination and they are not completely exclusive.

For convenience, the analysis approaches the mechanisms as communications _from_ the bureaucratic organization _to_ the primary group. With some modifications, however, the principles can be restated so as to characterize communication _from_ the primary group _to_ the formal organization. The mechanisms will here be thought of as though they are purposive, that is, intended to influence.

1. _Detached Expert_. Professional persons (such as social workers or public health nurses) act with relative autonomy and by direct participation in external primary groups to bring group norms and values into harmony with those of the organization. They operate by becoming trusted members of the primary group the organization is seeking to influence. The use of "street gang workers" to deal with delinquent groups is an illustration.3/ Types of detached workers have long been manifested in some schools. Some principals and teachers have made it a practice of visiting the homes of their children's parents and establishing a friendly neighboring relationship.

2. _Opinion Leader_. The organization seeks to influence the members of the primary groups through "natural" leaders in neighborhoods and local communities. The Shaw-McKay area approach (45) to delinquency control illustrates this procedure.4/ Katz

and Lazarsfeld point out that those utilizing mass media may unintentionally also be using an opinion leader approach.(43) Analysis of community power suggests that in large industries management frequently uses this procedure to exercise influence.(39) In school settings principals frequently use this procedure during school millage campaigns. They try to employ local leaders to get out the vote. The current emphasis on giving attention to indigenous local leaders has as one of its implicit notions the value of opinion leadership.

3. Settlement House. A change-inducing milieu is provided through physical facilities and proximity, and through availability of professional change agents. The approach combines the traditional community center with focused educational programs. One illustration is the work at Provo (16) described by Empey and Rabow.5/ In the school system the manifestation of the settlement house approach has been the emphasis given to the "lighted" or community school. The idea is that after school hours the building should be used for the benefit of the community.

4. Voluntary Association. A voluntary association, bringing together members of the formal organization and the primary groups, is used as a means of communication between the two, as, for example, in parent-teacher associations. The same kind of association can be seen among other types of bureaucracies. The police have various recreational groups for children; churches have church-related clubs; hospitals have voluntary associations like the Gray Ladies; the army maintains close ties to veterans' associations; business organizations and unions often sponsor recreational associations. In all instances, the voluntary associations, whatever their explicit function, also serve as a linking medium between the bureaucratic organizations and significant primary groups. This form of linkage has been a classic one for many schools. They view the parent-teacher associations or the homeroom mothers' clubs as the way by which they link up to the outer community.

5. Common Messenger. Messages intended to influence are communicated through an individual who is regularly a member of both the organization and the primary groups. The school child often serves as such a messenger for communication between school and family. Communication may be very explicit as in some large industrial organizations, where employees are urged to go out and sell the idea of a better business environment to their friends and families; or it may be more subtle, such as a company's attempt to influence the wives of management by indirect socialization.(99) Though frequently not recognized as such, this mode of communication has in fact been the major one by which the

school and community communicate. The child either explicitly carries messages between parent and teacher or does so implicitly. The parent's innocent question, "Well, what have you done in school today?" invariably leads to an "involuntary" communication between school and community.6/

6. Mass Media. The formal organization tries to influence primary groups through mass communication media. The characteristics of communication through such media have been thoroughly considered by many studies.(1)(37) Examples of the use of this approach are common throughout the entire range of bureaucratic organizations, e.g., church, governmental, business, and other organizations.

7. Formal Authority. Legal or well-established norms are are a basis for communicating with external primary groups. The truant officer, for example, has a legal right to link school and family. The relations of certain agencies, such as the police, to the outer community are almost solely guided by legal power. Other agencies, such as the schools, utilize some legal and some voluntary forms of communication; other agencies, like business and social work agencies, depend almost solely on voluntary arrangements for communicating with outside primary groups.7/ The use of formal authority is sometimes so ingrained in a position that the individual holding that position has no option. Thus, principals of schools are frequently seen by low income people as being so invested with authority that the principal has little choice in the matter. A letter of invitation to attend a PTA meeting is frequently viewed more or less as an order to do so by uninformed low income people.

8. Delegated Function. The organization acts through another organization, which is assumed to have better access, greater expertise, more appropriate facilities, or greater legitimacy in the society. For instance, schools are frequently asked by organizations such as the fire department and safety councils to pass information to the homes through the school children.8/ Schools may in turn delegate certain of their problems to other organizations. Thus, a highly disturbed child may be referred to a social work agency or a psychiatrist. In millage campaigns schools might ask the cooperation of local church groups, businessmen's associations, etc. As the concept of school-community relations has developed in low income areas, the schools have become very sensitive to the need to keep close liaison relations with the police, the welfare agencies, and the local community block club associations.

What we have described are eight typical procedures used by various organizations to link up to the outer community. The question arises, can we go somewhat deeper and analyze the underlying dynamics which make them effective or limited in given situations? With a more basic theoretical analysis, we can try to specify when the above mechanisms might produce good readers and when they may have negative consequences.

Principle of Initiative

Where the social distance is great, it is hypothesized that those mechanisms of coordination that permit the organization to take great initiative in contacting these groups will promote communication, otherwise selective listening may prevent the message from reaching the group for which it is intended.(40) Some of the mechanisms of coordination permit initiative by the bureaucratic organization more effectively than others. Thus, in using the detached worker approach, the bureaucratic organization sends its experts to make contact with the primary group member, in his home territory if necessary. By contrast, the voluntary association and the settlement house approach are passive approaches requiring more initiative of the primary group. The mass media approach, although it requires organizational initiative, leaves the decision to accept the message almost completely to the primary group members. The school which sends a form announcement through the child of a parent-teacher meeting will undoubtedly get no participation from parents who are fearful of the school or who do not strongly stress education. By contrast, the participation is likely to pick up dramatically if the teacher visits the homes and extends an invitation, or if the principal sends home a note indicating the visit is mandatory, i.e., uses his formal authority.

Principle of Intensity

To communicate across the boundaries of resistant primary groups, it is necessary to have intensive relations with primary group members in order to surmount barriers of selective interpretation. Messages that reach a distant primary group without strong support from a trusted member are likely to be put aside or distorted.(43) (57) The opinion leader approach, because it depends on pre-existing influence relationships represents a mechanism of considerable intensity; so does the detached worker approach. In contrast, the mass media and common messenger approaches exert the least intensity in the coordinating process.

Principle of Focused Expertise

Much communication between bureaucratic organizations and primary groups involves simple information, such as times of meetings, announcements about speakers, descriptions of new programs, and similar details. Some communications, however, involve complex kinds of messages; for example: communicating a fundamental change in the educational policy of a school to families; communicating the employment norms of a northern, urban factory to southern rural migrants; and communicating the kind of behavior that will help a mental patient return to his family.

The principle of focused expertise implies that the more complex the information, the more necessary a close contact between a professional expert and the group to be influenced. Furthermore, since the presentation of complex information requires the communicator to take account of unique problems a given group may have in absorbing the information and to adapt the communication accordingly, immediate feedback and response are necessary. Because of such factors, an expert in close touch with the group is required.(37) (47) The detached worker approach, the settlement house approach, and the voluntary association approach are all procedures which put the expert in face-to-face contact with the external primary groups; the opinion leader, the mass media, and the common messenger approaches permit only indirect access. It may be noted that great social distance usually implies that complex information must be transmitted and therefore suggests the need for focused expertise.

Principle of Maximum Coverage

It is hypothesized that better coordination will occur when a procedure can reach the largest number of external primary groups. This is not only a principle of economy, but also one of extensiveness. Procedures that reach more people without loss of effectiveness are preferred to those of limited scope. The detached expert approach is limited in the number of primary groups it can reach at a given level of resources because it requires almost a one-to-one relation between expert and group. One expert is restricted to one or perhaps two groups. By contrast, the settlement house and the voluntary association can reach more people because a given expert can deal with many more groups in a given day. The common messenger approach has an even wider scope, and the mass media approach has the widest scope of all.

This enumeration of some of the major principles of communication governing the mechanisms of coordination is intended only to suggest differences in efficacy of communication procedures. Table 15-1 summarizes how these principles relate to the eight designated mechanisms of coordination. This table applies the principles as criteria to evaluate the suitability of a mechanism of coordination for any given state of imbalance. Obviously,

Table 15-1

Theoretical Dimensions of Communication, Hypothesized
To Be Operative in Each Mechanism of Coordination

		Principles of Communication		
Coordinating Mechanisms	Initiative	Intensity	Focused Expertise	Coverage
Detached expert	highest	high	highest	lowest
Opinion leader	low	highest	low	moderate
Settlement house	moderate to low	high	high	moderate
Voluntary associations	low	moderate	moderate	high
Common messenger	moderate	low	lowest	high
Mass media	moderate to low	lowest	lowest	highest
Formal authority	high	moderate to low	high to low	high to low
Delegated function	high to low	high to low	high to low	high to low

there are many logical combinations of principles which have not been considered here or represented in Table 15-1.

With these principles in mind we can return to the specific mechanisms and suggest conditions under which they might ideally lead to the development of reading skills by the child.

As illustration, the detached expert approach can be examined in terms of the principles of communication. This approach as applied to the organizations seeking to influence a primary group has the following characteristics (see Table 15-1):

1. It requires great initiative of the bureaucratic organization
2. It involves intensive relations between change agent and external group
3. It entails focused expertise, or close contact between the professional and his target group
4. It has limited scope

With the exception of scope, all characteristics of this mechanism are highly useful for communicating across great social distance, i.e., achieving a balance when the bureaucratic organization must deal with distant primary groups. Thus, when a school seeks to communicate its goals and program to a distant family, it must take the initiative; it must use intensity of interaction to penetrate primary group boundaries, and it must make use of focused expertise to effect changes in social norms through communications of very complex messages. In northern urban communities, migrant southern white families often seem to require such an approach to achieve balance between school and family for the educational motivation of the children.

This approach is less effective for coordination when primary groups are overidentified with the bureaucratic organizations. The bureaucratic organization then does not require initiative, since the primary group will take the initiative. Intensive relations are unnecessary since there are no resistant primary group boundaries to pierce and such relations may, indeed, evoke too much affectivity. School teachers, for example, might be tempted to evaluate children on the basis of their positive or negative feelings toward the parents, and parents might evaluate their children too exclusively on the basis of their school performance. In industry, bringing the families too close may lead to nepotism and favoritism within the organization; and among the families, it may lead to undue evaluation of family members in terms of occupational success or utility. In either case, it is likely to lead to a loss in ability to achieve occupational goals.

Furthermore, the detached expert approach is extremely wasteful where families already identify with the organization, since there are other procedures (mass media and voluntary association) which can communicate to such families and reach many more of them without incurring excessive intimacy.

By earlier analyses, the balance theory of coordination suggests that where great social distance exists, mechanisms such as the detached worker and settlement house are more effective than mass media, common messenger, formal authority, or voluntary association approaches. These statements are intended to give only an idea of the broad applications of the theory. More precise hypotheses relating given mechanisms of coordination for different family types to optimal goal achievement depend on a more detailed analysis of the primary groups involved.

In the chapters to follow we will make some specific predictions for the families in our sample. Let it suffice to say here that, on the basis of our prior discussion of social distance, we have three distinctive sub-groups, viz., the inner city white, the inner city Negro, and the outer city white. Of these three, the low educated inner city white family is most distant from the schools and hardest to reach. Even when reached, this family will be harder to change. If this is the case, this inner city group will require the use of exceedingly powerful detached worker and settlement house programs if they are to be reached or changed. The poorly educated Negro families might also require mechanisms of this kind but a more modest effort should produce greater results. By contrast, the outer city may show improvement where formalistic kinds of linkages are used.

In much of the presentation, it has been assumed that the initiative for linkages comes from the formal organization, i.e., the schools. Both in theory and in fact, this is not true. There are many obvious instances where schools have been the target of local primary groups, as for example mothers' organized boycotts of schools. Since linkages can be initiated from either the primary group or the formal organization, the question arises--are they symmetrical? Can they be initiated from the primary group in the same manner as from the formal organization? They do not seem to be symmetrical and this is, in part, a function of the structural characteristics of the bureaucratic organization and the primary group. We would argue that the bureaucratic organization in general has more manpower and financial resources than any primary group, therefore it can initiate community contact with almost any mechanism of coordination. By contrast, the primary group can only start with those mechanisms that require minimal financial and professional resources. For instance, the bureaucratic organizations can initiate their linkages to the community with the detached worker and the settlement house approaches, whereas the primary group might have to start with a voluntary association. The differences in group structure and the consequent asymmetry in sequencing coordinating mechanisms constitutes an important research problem which needs to be explored.

Because of their size and need for large-scale cooperation in order to exist, the bureaucratic organizations are generally more visible than the primary groups and therefore less likely to tolerate extreme forms of deviance. They can, therefore, generally be reached by much less intensive forms of coordinating mechanisms (e.g., the mass media) than can the primary groups. Or put as a research question--are bureaucracies more susceptible to change by formal linkages than primary groups? It should also be noted that bureaucracies differ in the degree of their vulnerability to the public. A school system a week before a millage election is more vulnerable than a week after, and wholesalers may be less vulnerable to public pressure than retailers. The entire dimension of organizational vulnerability becomes important for understanding how coordinating mechanisms affect the schools.

It is also clear that some bureaucracies have more of a normative base for linking to the community than others. Thus, youth delinquency agencies have stronger social support than business organizations for reaching into the community. What is interesting is that business organizations have people performing many of the same functions that the social work agencies perform, but they must do so with low visibility. The differences between the public relations man in an industrial concern and the community organizer in a Community Chest program would be most interesting for highlighting the consequence of an organization needing to use its coordinating mechanisms in a latent rather than in a manifest way. More generally, the consequence of normative support for linkages becomes an interesting research question.

If an organization is not self-conscious about its coordinating mechanisms, certain mechanisms will always be operative, such as the common messenger and the opinion leader. What characterizes these coordinating mechanisms is their informality. When one considers that leadership in the organization is generally class related and that living conditions outside the organization are generally class related, then it can be seen that as a consequence of these informal mechanisms, different parts of the organization become linked to different parts of the community. This, in turn, can lead to considerable tension within the organization. This is one of the problems to which Selznick addresses himself.(83) More generally, the research question becomes: When do linkages lead to internal organizational cohesion and when to disruption? These are a few of the research issues which might profitably be pursued if one holds to the view that a bureaucracy should be neither isolated from primary groups nor brought too closely in contact with them.

Measures of School-Family Linking Mechanisms

With the foregoing general definitions of the linking mechanisms and the underlying theory of their operations, we can now ask ourselves in greater detail to what forms they can take in the school situation and how we tried to measure them.

Detached Worker

First, let us consider the detached worker approach. There are obviously various degrees to which this approach can be implemented. It is possible to point on the one hand to very extreme types of detached workers, for example, the church missionary who seeks to identify and become part of the people, goes to live with the group he hopes to convert, and stays on duty 24 hours a day. Not so extreme, perhaps, but still a powerful form of detached worker, is the youth worker who works with delinquent gangs.(14) It is his job to spend a considerable part of each day, night, weekday, or weekend with the gang with which he works, to be accepted as a trusted friend of the gang, become privy to their secrets, and to be available whenever needed. Some street gang workers actually move into the neighborhood and as such become missionaries as well. It has sometimes been suggested that for professionals to really serve the poor they too must engage in this extreme form of detached worker behavior.

The schools that we studied, with one possible exception, did not have this intense form of detached workers. They had a much more modest form. With the exception of the four experimental project schools, it would have required considerable effort on the school staff's part to act in a detached worker role. It was definitely not part of their current job definition, and as a consequence, anything they did would have had to be on their own time. A detached worker approach could manifest itself where it was not part of the job definition in visits to the homes of the parents by principals and teachers. However, not all visits could be so classified. There were visits (especially in the inner city where the parents had no phone) which were a consequence of taking a child home from school because his behavior required the child to be removed from school. These visits need not constitute a detached worker approach but a simple escort service. Furthermore, they were frequently viewed as expressions of formal authority in which the principal came to the house to use his authority to lay the law down to the parent about the errant child. We are not saying that visits regarding school problems could not have been utilized in a detached worker approach, but that they generally were not.

We therefore used as our measure of detached worker the visits of principals to the homes of parents for reasons other than problems the child was having in school. We asked the respondent the following question:

> "How many times did you ever talk with the principal or assistant principal of (NAME OF CHILD'S SCHOOL) in your home?"

If the respondent said once or more, we asked the following questions:

> "How many times would you say a visit in your home by (SCHOOL'S) principal or assistant principal was mostly to discuss a special problem or situation involving one of your children?"
>
> "Were there any other reasons that the principal or assistant principal came to your home? Why was that, and how many times were the visits mostly for that reason?"

We took the number of times the principal visited the home for reasons other than special problems as one measure of a detached worker approach. A principal with a full time job of running a school is obviously not in the position to make home visits and establish rapport to the degree of the missionary or the youth worker. He might sometimes approach this in the middle class areas where his background and similarity of values might make the assimilation into the parent group easy. But among the low income groups--even if they were willing to accept him--he would have to work especially hard to put himself into their frame of reference. The kinds of social pressures that shape their view of things may differ considerably from his.

How many families were reached by this form of detached worker? We should note that no time limit was put on the period when the principal could have visited. It could have been anywhere in the five to six years the child was in the school, or for some mobile families it may have been less than a year. As we defined the detached worker mechanism, contact should be somewhat frequent. However, there is only one case among the 1,529 where a family said they had between 11 and 20 contacts. There were eight cases where families said they had as many as six to ten contacts. This must be compared to the extreme form of detached worker where contacts may be daily. Five per cent of the population had as many as one to five contacts with the principal. In summary. this is a measure of a weak expression of the detached worker approach because most of the families did not use it at all: 95 per cent had no home contact with the principal for reasons other than special problems, and for those who did have a contact, it was very infrequent (one to five times), spread over one to six years. We do not say this to judge in any way the principals of the schools. For it should be clear that being a detached worker is a full-time job. The principals already have full-time jobs. To ask them to be detached workers for the schools is to ask them to perform above and beyond the demands of most ordinary individuals. There are individuals who are able to do so who should be admired but should not be used as a model for all others.

We deliberately started our discussion of the detached worker with the principals because, of all the professional staff, his role permits maximum freedom to make home visits if he desires. By comparison, the teachers are tied to the immediacies of instruction and can literally not see parents at home except after school hours. It would require some radical alteration of their job definition for them to become detached workers as well.

To measure the extent that teachers were used as detached workers, we asked the family exactly the same questions about the teachers that we asked about the principals. However, we felt that the teacher did not have the same aura of formal authority and it was less expected that she visit the home for disciplinary reasons. Therefore, we included in our definition of detached worker,teachers' visits both for special problems and for other reasons. When we examine the teacher's visits for "other reasons," we find the results generally similar for those for the principals. Only six families had as many as six to ten visits during their time in the school (anywhere from one to six years). Ninety-five per cent of the families reported no such contact and five per cent had between one and five visits. Again, we can say this is hardly a strong form of detached worker mechanism even when it does operate.

If we look at how often the teacher made a home visit for special problems, we see that there are four families with as many as six to ten contacts, 7 per cent with one to five contacts, and 93 per cent with no contacts at all. Again, we must conclude that even where this procedure was used it did not constitute a powerful expression of the detached worker approach. Only a few families had as many as five visits during the entire time their child was in school.

In addition to the teaching staff, there are two other persons who might act as detached workers. One is the school social worker who is called the "visiting teacher" in the Detroit schools. They definitely have a mandate to visit the homes of the children they are seeing, but in the usual school the visiting teacher was seldom available since they were spread so thinly over so many schools that any one school might see the visiting teacher from once a month to possibly once every two weeks. In some schools visiting teachers did not appear at all. In general, they did not serve as a detached worker to the school because they were separated from any particular school and often tended to treat children referred to them as a client who was seen in the school. The visiting teacher might have little contact with the staff or the principal of the school. We should note that this was not by choice of the school social worker or the schools but a consequence mostly of limited funds.

The Detroit school system recognized the insufficiency of such a thin spread of school social workers and in the experimental project provided funds so that school social workers could be part of a given school on a full-time basis. In the four experimental schools the school social worker might spend from full-time to half-time each week. We, therefore, included the school social worker in two ways in our measure of detached worker. First, we measured her home contacts. This is the ideal form of the detached worker mechanism. Second, we decided to include any other contacts she might have with the parents (not the child who was her client) aside from visits at school. The majority of such contacts would be phone calls. We asked the parent, "How many times have you been in touch with them (school people) about your child(ren)?" Among the school people we listed the "visiting teacher." However, since we did not have a direct measure of the home visits, we circulated a list of our respondents to the visiting teachers and asked them to check off all those they had visited at home.

According to the visiting teachers five families were visited at home 20 or more times. Six families had between 11 and 20 such contacts and six had between 6 and 10. Ninety-nine per cent of the families received no home visits at all from the visiting teacher. Of the one per cent who received visits, at least a third had more than 20 visits. This begins to look like a detached worker approach; however, we are speaking about five families among 1,529.

The other job which could have permitted a detached worker approach was present only in the four project schools. These were experimental positions set up in the project schools and called school-community agents. They had an open mandate to establish closer relations between the school and its community. They could, if they wanted to, act as detached workers. However, in fact they did not. With the open mandate and the principals' uncertainty, the tendency was to push after-school programming, a procedure sufficiently close to the experiences of the school staff to minimize anxieties. Insofar as the agents did venture into the community, it was generally to meet with other professionals or leaders in the community. There were some major exceptions to this rule which indicated that the program could have tolerated detached workers if the job had been so defined.[9] Yet, even with this limitation the community agents' job definition was such that they had much more opportunity than the regular staff to visit parents in their homes.

We circulated among the agents a list of the families in our study and asked them to designate those whom they had visited in their homes. Two families had been visited more than 21 times. Ten families had been visited 11 to 20 times, 24 families had been visited six to ten times, and 14 per cent of the families one to five times. It is clear that the community agent approach far and away was the most important source of detached workers for the schools to which they were attached. The families they visited constituted 16 per cent of the total population even though the community agents were stationed in only four of the 18 schools. This means that they must have covered a considerable number of families in each of their schools. However, it is also clear that their visiting was not very intensive. Two families had over 21 visits which might be considered as intensive as the youth workers. Ten families had 11 to 20 visits, a moderate amount of contact. But the bulk of the contacts involved from one to five visits. This is only a very modest form of the detached worker program, especially when it could have been stretched over a two-year period (the length of time the program was in operation when the study was made). We do not mean this as a criticism of the community agents. Having observed them first-hand over much of this period, we feel it is a small miracle that they visited as many families as they did. They felt much pressure to run full-time after-school and evening programs for adults. Furthermore, in the early period of their job histories, they made all of the arrangements for bus trips, library trips, and all special events. In addition, they were the ones who kept contact with other organizations in the neighborhood. Considering that the after-school programs were frequently major jobs in themselves with a staff of four or five instructors, the school-community agents would often put in 16 hours a day to do the work and act as detached workers as well. It should also be noted that the need for detached workers was not so great in several of the schools so that lack of visiting is not to be taken as a shortcoming in any sense.

The point is that the schools did not really have a very strong detached worker program. By strong, we mean that it did not approach in any manner the model forms of detached worker known to us, e.g., the youth workers who work with delinquent gangs, the missionaries for religious organizations, and more recently the peace corps members who live and work in isolated rural communities in the spirit of becoming part of that community so as to bring about change.

What is the consequence when the detached worker form is not strong but only moderate or weak? It means in terms of a balance theory that the schools do not have tools for reaching the educationally most distant families located in neighborhoods that reinforce their separation from the school.

For the purpose of our study we decided to lump together all contacts a person had had at home from any of the above sources as an index of a detached worker link. This entails the assumption that the professionals making the links are interchangeable. We do not think this assumption is altogether sound but without it we would not have had enough cases to make any statistical inferences at all. Our very inability to study this approach is most instructive. With the bulk of our population in the lowest socioeconomic areas and in those areas where reading is farthest behind, we must note that the schools are not using this approach among the populations that most need it. Including in our study the most experimental, community-minded of all the schools in a system committed to this approach more than most systems in the country, we can say that even in the best situation the approach is unlikely to be used in its strongest form. How important this is remains an empirical question. We have not yet related the mechanisms to the reading scores of the children. However, it clearly means that we are not in a position to test some of the crucial aspects of our theory, e.g., the optimum way to reach the most recalcitrant families.

Settlement House Approach

This is again an approach that is not traditional with the schools but it bears sufficient resemblance to past approaches to gain more ready acceptance. The essence of this approach is the provision in the immediate vicinity of physical facilities and professional aid which would be used for purposes of change. This is quite similar to the school's notion of community use of the school after hours. It is also similar to the traditional idea of evening adult education classes in the school. What differentiates the traditional school programs from the settlement house approach is the definition of what is to be changed as well as the content of instruction. What has to be changed for many families are basic child rearing patterns, types of relationships with their neighbors, types of relationships to formal organizations like schools, and similar patterns of behavior. These kinds of change often do not fit easily into a conventional mode of class lecture presentation. They might require role-playing as a type of instruction, or provide systematic observation and practice with people who are successfully engaging in the desired behavior. Learning may take place through supervised apprenticeship activities. This does not preclude the importance of education classes to train parents in academic or occupational skills. It is only to say that such traditional programs are not enough.

When we look at what went on in the after-school settlement house programs of project schools we find a strange mixture. A minority of programs attempted to deal with basic problems of socialization, neighboring relations, or wider political relations in the manner suggested above. One program operated in this manner was an attempt to run a cooperative nursery in the school that had as one of its goals the exposure of parents to the socialization procedures of a middle class person, i.e., the nursery school teacher. This continuous availability of a behavior model is, as we have hypothesized, one of the chief ways by which people learn everyday "habits" of socialization. However, this program was a notable exception. In most schools, the immediate problems of setting up after-school programs and the lack of knowledge of exactly what types of socialization to be taught led to an emphasis on leisure time activities that would be most appealing to the population. This was calculated to attract people to the after-school programs. However, insofar as these leisure time activities had no other goal, they could have reinforced prior behavior rather than changed it. As has sometimes been noted, settlement houses that try to change delinquents by providing athletic equipment frequently end up producing delinquents who are good athletes.

This comment is not intended as a reflection on the competence of the community agents and school personnel. They were driven to traditional leisure oriented programming because there were no clear-cut alternatives available. The field is so new that no one knows what teaching techniques and what subject matter will significantly affect child rearing behavior among adults. To provide an analogue, we are in a stage of development here that rocketry was in right before the capacity to shoot men into space was developed. We have a strong hunch it is possible; we have some good leads as to how it can be done. But there are no established formulae which permit us to engineer rockets on a regular production basis. And that is exactly what is being asked of the school community agents in the teaching of socialization.

We bring up this point for two reasons. First, to indicate that the ideal forms of "settlement house" were not reached. Much of the after-school programming for adults consisted of such things as sewing classes and cake decorating classes. Second, we must not condemn a program because the state of the arts does not permit its ideal implementation, nor condemn the people seeking to implement the program for not being more sophisticated when the state of the arts does not permit it. We must view these programs as experimental learning procedures. To go back to our analogy of rocketry, we are sending up various types of rockets and we learn from our failures as well as our successes. With regard to the after-school programs, it has become clear that people will come to programs like cake decorating, sewing, dancing, wrestling, children's performances, etc. What we must do is learn how to turn these occasions into more basic change experiences. What frequently happens is that they become ends in themselves. They are part of the "numbers" game that professionals play to indicate to others that they are doing a good job.

In order to get some measure of the settlement house procedures, we summed up the number of contacts the parents had with the school of the following kind:

1. During a typical school year, how many times do you and one of these teachers meet at (SCHOOL) for parent-teacher conferences?10/

2. And how many times during the year do you and a teacher meet at (SCHOOL) for other things such as school plays or meetings, like Parent-Teacher Association or home-room mothers' clubs? (This question was used to measure settlement house only if the respondent said in addition, "Yes," to the following: "When you have seen a teacher at school affairs such as plays and meetings, have you ever had a talk with her--something more than saying hello or just chatting, that is?")

3. How many times did you go to (SCHOOL) in the last three years to attend some special class or group set up for parents, like a class in sewing or child psychology?

4. How often have you been to (SCHOOL) in the last three

years to attend a recreation program held at the school?

5. An item similar to item 2 but for the principal or assistant principal of the school.

6. An item which asked how many times they were in touch with the community agent (we excluded contacts made by the agent at home).

7. An item which asked how many times they were in contact with the visiting teacher (school social worker); again we excluded the home visits of the visiting teacher.

In this listing we sought, on the one hand, to incorporate the special programs set up by the project schools and also to permit the assessment of non-project schools making unusual use of traditional modes of linkage.

Our index of settlement house contact was the sum of contacts made on all of these items. As in our measure of the detached worker approach, we are making the heroic assumption that having a constant source is not important, that many different programs will have the same effect as one big one.

Voluntary Association Approach

Closely related to the settlement house approach is that of the voluntary association. This, theoretically, differs from the settlement house in that the professionals do not play as key a role in shaping the program, i.e., they are not viewed as change agents. Second, the frequency of contact is lower. Third, the sense of mandatory attendance (as, say, in an adult educational class) is far less. Fourth, the requirements for physical facilities may be far less. The voluntary association is thought of as a meeting between equals--parents and teachers. It is an opportunity to keep in touch but not for the discussion of detailed matters or major differences. Rather, it is to reinforce common goals and iron out minor frictions.

In order to measure this form of linking mechanism we used the sum of the following contacts:

1. How many times during the year do you and the principal or assistant principal meet at (SCHOOL) for other things such as school plays or meetings, like Parent-Teacher Association or homeroom mothers' clubs? (This question was used as a measure of voluntary association

only where the respondent in addition said that when she met the principal or assistant principal she never talked with him aside from saying hello.

2. The same as item 1 but this time about the teachers.

3. How many times did you go to (SCHOOL) in the last three years to attend something like a play or program that (one of) your child(ren) was taking part in?

4. How many times did you go to (SCHOOL) in the last three years to attend a meeting in the school about some neighborhood or community program about safety or cleanup, or some activity connected with such a program?

5. Taking the time since school started last September, how often have you gone to (SCHOOL) to attend a meeting or join in some activity of a parent-teacher organization like a PTA or mothers' club?

6. The number of offices the respondent held--like chairman or committee member--in any school organization.

The sum of contacts from these six items was the basis for our voluntary association index.

Formal Authority Mechanism

To measure formal authority, we concentrated on two things. First, if a special problem was involved, e.g., grades or behavior, we thought formal authority would be involved. Second, if the school person contacted had much formal authority attached to the role it was defined as formal authority. Thus, we decided that principals and attendance officers generally had so much formal authority attached to their roles, that any contact they made which was associated with special problems could be automatically coded as formal authority.

With these criteria in mind we coded the following questions addressed to the family as measures of formal authority:

1. How many times would you say a visit in your home by (SCHOOL's) principal or assistant principal was mostly to discuss a special problem or situation involving one of your children?

2. How many times during a school year do you usually talk with either the principal or assistant principal of

(SCHOOL) on the phone?

3. During the typical school year, how many times do you and the principal or assistant principal meet at (SCHOOL) for a conference or when you've gone there especially to see him (her)?

4. The same question as number 3 but for the teacher.

5. For those respondents who indicated that during the year they received a note from school, we asked the following question: "How often is the note about some problem or difficulty (one of) your child(ren) is having?"

6. How often were you in touch with the school nurse?

7. How often were you in touch with attendance officer (TRUANT OFFICER)?

Again, the index was the sum of responses for the above items.

Common Messenger Mechanism

As our measure of the common messenger approach we had one item:

1. How often would you say a note or message brought home by (one of) your child(ren) is to tell you about something the school was planning to do, like have evening classes, or parents' meetings, or a special program?

Mass Media Approach

Our measure of parents reached by mass media was the following item:

1. So far as you know, does (SCHOOL) try to let parents know about school activities by such things as putting announcements in the paper, or leaving notices at various places like the grocery, beauty shop, or laundromat? If the respondent said "Yes," we weighted her response by an item based on our interviews with the principal and assistant principal in the school in which we asked them about the school newspapers and how many mass announcements they sent out. However, for most of our analysis, the above item is used in terms of the parents' statement that they did or did not know

of school efforts.

Opinion Leader Approach

Our measure of the opinion leader mechanism was the following item:

1. Are there people in your neighborhood you really respect with whom you might discuss some problem about (SCHOOL)?

In concluding this description of our measures of the various linking mechanisms, we can report the investigator's traditional regret for the errors made in our first attempt at measurement. We now believe that if we were to repeat the study, we would attempt to measure directly the underlying dimensions of these linking mechanisms, e.g., initiative, intensity, focus, and scope. Furthermore, we now see the need for far more details about the nature of contact so it might more reasonably be classified. It is in part the nature of scientific inquiry that such matters emerge as a consequence of the study.

Conclusion

With this we can conclude our discussion of the theoretical bases of the linking mechanisms. In the first part of the chapter we provided a general definition of each mechanism. In the second part of the chapter we sought to provide the theoretical dimensions which more basically define the linking mechanisms and indicate the dynamics which govern their successful employment. In the last part of the chapter we gave the empirical ways we actually ended up defining the linking mechanisms. The task before us is to see how these mechanisms affected the reading skills of the child.

Chapter 15

Footnotes

1. Much of this chapter was based on an article published by Eugene Litwak and Henry J. Meyer. (62)

2. There are significant exceptions to this statement. James D. Thompson (91) has pointed to the need to consider boundary-spanning relations of large organizations systematically, and he has developed a general framework for doing this. For an article that covers some of the same issues from a different perspective, see Charles Kadushin. (42) An approach to community linkages of organizations through role analysis is represented by Robert C. Hanson. (31) The more general concept of system linkage is developed by Charles P. Loomis. (65)

3. For a description of such a program, see P. L. Crawford, D. I. Malamud, and J. R. Dumpson. (14) The chaplain will sometimes act as a detached worker to the families of service men or the public relations officer might perform this function with key community leaders around the army base. Regardless of the present social norms on the use of detached experts, in principle any bureaucratic organization can make use of the detached expert. Thus, in Russia where the norms of political behavior are different from ours, the "agitator" as described by Inkeles tends to operate as a detached worker connecting the bureaucratic mass media with the local primary groups. See Alex Inkeles. (41)

4. In industry the opinion leader approach is illustrated by management's encouragement of executives to join key groups in the community and to develop through them a "better business atmosphere."

5. Because of its high visibility this approach is not as readily used by organizations such as industries, where there is no clear social mandate for change. Yet prototypes that come close to this approach and are often historically related to paternalistic policies are seen in the company town, and currently in the development of community centers and recreation centers by some large companies for the exclusive use of their employees. Executive conferences and seminars at business schools of universities represent

another example. The army (especially overseas) may assume the same paternalistic position providing not only facilities but the context of social relations for dependents as well as officers and men.

6. However, in addition to the child as a common messenger there has been growing demand in low income areas to employ the parent as a common messenger as well. This has taken two forms. In one form, the demand for school-based boards of education with local people on the board involves the idea of both common messenger and indigenous leadership. On the other hand, the idea that schools should hire local people for all kinds of jobs, e.g., crossing guards, lunchroom attendants, etc., is also a manifestation of this common messenger idea. Finally, the notion that school teachers in low income areas should live in the area where they teach in order to better understand the problems is still another variation on this idea. For a detailed discussion of the problems and assets of such programs, see Litwak and Meyer. (64)

7. Some agencies that have depended almost entirely on legal authority in the past have moved toward other means (e.g., the trend toward "therapeutic treatment" of offenders by courts), while others might seek more legal authority to achieve their goals (e.g., raising the legal age at which children must stay in school).(15)

8. Other examples: Schools refer children to outside medical services; large business concerns might seek to affect public opinion where they have no social mandate by delegating the communication function to other organizations such as schools, civic groups, or churches. The delegated function approach assumes certain interorganizational relationships and recognizes that once the function has been delegated, the agency undertaking the communication will have recourse to the other mechanisms of coordination. In this report we will not be dealing with this problem. For a discussion of the kinds of issues raised in interorganizational analysis see (49)(60)(64).

9. Several of the agents actually lived in the areas within which they worked. One in particular who had a wife and several children moved into the neighborhood within which he worked, sent his children to the same schools, and in general acted as a missionary-youth worker in that neighborhood. However, over time he became less interested in the specific problem of education as developed by the school and became more interested in the basic problem of segregation and poverty. As

a consequence, he drifted farther and farther away from the school, i.e., no longer serving as a connecting link between the school and community. Much more to the point of this report, he became less and less interested in such specifics as developing reading skills. The work he was doing was possibly very important for a long-run change in reading achievement of the child, in that it was an attempt to break the neighborhood-occupational lock which so consistently works against the interest of the low income families. Nevertheless, on a short run basis, his lack of focus on educational issues would make it unlikely that his influence would be felt on the reading scores of the child.

10. The reader should bear in mind that in the Detroit schools there was systemwide provision for regular parent-teacher conferences. These were presumably to be held by each school once or twice during the semester to keep contact with the parents. They were not meant to deal with problem children but were for parents and teachers to get acquainted. Some schools, however, frequently used them for discussing problem cases.

Chapter 16

Linking Mechanisms--Their Use--
A First Test of the Balance Theory

As a first step in the investigation of the linking mechanisms we should like to see who uses them. If our "linkage theory" is correct, it should be true that linking mechanisms which permit the school considerable initiative should reach families that are socially distant from the school. By contrast, linking mechanisms that are organizationally passive (i.e., permit the family great initiative) should be directed to families that are educationally close to the school.

In the chapter on social distance we suggested some of the factors that define social distance. First, we pointed out that the inner city white family is likely to have greater resistance to contacting the school than the inner city Negro family or the outer city white family. In addition, we reported that the low educated families tended to have more resistance than the high educated families. We suggested that in special circumstances families that are educationally motivated and well organized to implement their values may still be socially very distant from their current schools because social distance must take into account the neighborhood as well as the family. Thus, we pointed out that the high educated white families in the poor neighborhoods (i.e., project schools) might isolate themselves from the current school in anticipation of leaving. If social distance were defined only in terms of the family it would overlook such a circumstance. Finally, we suggested that not only the family but the school enters into defining the linkage mechanisms by pointing out that the project or experimental schools permitted greater contact than the non-project schools. Therefore, in what follows we generally keep the project schools separated from the rest in order to get comparable conditions of social distance.

Using these rough categories of social distance we shall seek to find out if our assumptions about the varying capacities of the different mechanisms to cross social distance are correct. As such this will be a preliminary test of a phase of our balance theory. If we could assume that the schools did in fact operate on some principle of effectiveness, we could add, in addition, that this would be an initial test of our balance theory itself. If schools are operating on an effectiveness principle and the balance theory is correct, the schools should be using linking mechanisms which give them great initiative when the families are distant and, by contrast, mechanisms which are organizationally passive where the families are educationally close.

To begin the empirical test we shall first of all compare the outer city white families with the inner city white families who do not have children in project schools, matching the families on education. According to our previous analyses, the inner city white family is more distant than the outer city one. If our theory of linkages is correct the inner city white family should be more readily reached by linkages which give the organization more initiative while the outer city family should be reached by linkages which give the family more initiative.

In our analysis we create three levels of initiative within which to locate the linking mechanisms. The detached worker and the formal authority mechanisms have high initiative. The opinion leader, voluntary association, and the settlement house mechanisms have low initiative. In between, we put the mass media and the common messenger.

In Table 16-1 we can see that outer city families do use those mechanisms classified as having low organizational initiative more frequently than do the inner city white families.1/ Thus, the families which are closer to the schools are more likely to make use of mechanisms which require family rather than organizational initiative (on the average about 17 per cent more). This finding is supportive of our linkage theory as well as the overall balance point of view.

Let us now turn to another possible test. We have argued that, all other things being equal, the inner city Negro will have a more positive orientation toward school than the inner city white. If this assumption is true and our theory of the dynamics of linking mechanisms is also true, the Negro families should utilize organizationally passive mechanisms and the whites will (relatively speaking) utilize those requiring high school initiative. The factors we want to keep equal (since we think they do influence school-community contact) are education of the parent and the project non-project school setting.

Table 16-2 shows that it is generally true that the Negro family is more likely than its matching white family to utilize the linking mechanisms characterized by low school initiative (viz., settlement house, voluntary association, and opinion leader). This is indicated in Table 16-2 by the magnitude of differences between Negro and white families. The Negro family tends to make greater use than the white on those mechanisms where the school takes a passive role. This is most evident for the

Table 16-1

Per Cent of White Families from Non-Project Schools Using Each Linking Mechanism, by Neighborhood and Education

Amount of Organizational Initiative	Name of Linking Mechanism	Education	Inner City	Outer City	Diff.
High	Detached Worker	Low	17	14	-03
		High	17	20	+03
	Formal Authority	Low	45	43	-02
		High	36	40	+04
Moderate	Common Messenger	Low	86	76	-10
		High	89	78	-11
	Mass Media	Low	05	24	+19
		High	11	34	+23
Low	Voluntary Association	Low	38	55	+17
		High	72	79	+07
	Settlement House	Low	17	37	+20
		High	36	60	+24
	Opinion Leader	Low	45	63	+18
		High	58	76	+18

	Population	
Low	190	194
High	36	319

Table 16-2

Per Cent Using Each Linking Mechanism by Race of Inner City Families, and Project Status of Schools

Amount of Organizational Initiative	Name of Linking Mechanism	White	Negro	Diff.
			Project Schools	
High	Detached Worker	76	38	-38
	Formal Authority	53	60	+07
Moderate	Common Messenger	82	85	+03
	Mass Media	18	40	+22
Low	Voluntary Association	38	63	+25
	Settlement House	39	59	+20
	Opinion Leader	44	60	+16
			Non-Project Schools	
High	Detached Worker	17	17	00
	Formal Authority	44	55	+11
Moderate	Common Messenger	86	77	-09
	Mass Media	07	07	00
Low	Voluntary Association	44	53	+09
	Settlement House	20	43	+23
	Opinion Leader	47	58	+11

		Population
Project	(131)	(209)
Non-Project	(326)	(451)

project schools where, in all cases, the Negro families are more likely than the white to utilize the extreme passive mechanisms rather than the extreme school initiated mechanisms. For the non-project schools the direction is the same but there is one exception. Negro families are more likely to be high on the use of formal authority--normally a school initiated mechanism--and relatively low on voluntary association--normally a family initiated mechanism. Though we do not present the findings here, these statements are especially true of the high educated Negro family living in the non-project school area. We think this may be a function of the minority-majority status which we will explore below. But, again, the central point is that there is indeed confirmation of the hypothesized underlying dynamics.

Still another test of the dynamics and partially of balance theory would be the differences between the educated and the less well educated families. We have suggested throughout that the more educated families will be closer to the schools than the less well educated, the exception being the high educated families in the low income areas (i.e., project schools or low achievement normed neighborhoods). As a consequence, we would expect the high educated to use the organizationally passive mechanisms and the low educated to be reached more by linkages that require organizational initiative. In this case we want to isolate the educational variables by matching families on race, project status of the schools, and neighborhood.

If we examine Table 16-3, we can see that for all instances except the inner city whites living in the poorest neighborhood (project schools) the educated groups were comparatively more inclined to use the passive mechanisms than those requiring organizational initiative. This is another partial confirmation of the theory of linkages.

We may introduce a somewhat different idea of distance to provide an additional test of the linkage hypothesis. We may say that families who have children who are behavior problems in school are families that are socially distant. The argument is that a family whose children cause trouble in school either has the wrong values, is unable to implement its values, or both. In any case, it is likely to be more socially distant from the schools than other families. To assess the behavior of the child in this instance, we used the teachers' ratings of the child, based on the scale described in Chapter 2. Children rated above average are said to have a positive behavior score and those rated average or below are classified as having a negative score. The question we ask ourselves is whether families which are most socially distant (i.e., have children given a negative behavior

Table 16-3

Per Cent Using Each Mechanism by Race, Education, Project Status, and Neighborhood

	High Organizational Initiative		Moderate Organizational Initiative		Low Organizational Initiative			
Education	Detached Worker	Formal Authority	Common Messenger	Mass Media	Voluntary Association	Settlement House	Opinion Leader	Pop.
	Inner City White Families in Project Schools							
Low	75	51	82	27	39	38	41	114
High	77	65	82	29	35	47	59	17
Difference	+02	+14	00	+02	-04	+09	+18	
	Inner City White Families in Non-Project Schools							
Low	17	45	86	05	38	17	45	190
High	17	36	89	11	72	36	58	36
Difference	00	-09	+03	+06	+34	+19	+13	
	Outer City White Families							
Low	14	43	76	24	55	37	63	194
High	20	40	78	34	79	52	76	31
Difference	+06	-03	+02	+10	+24	+15	+13	
	Inner City Negro Families in Project Schools							
Low	39	59	82	37	59	53	58	158
High	35	63	94	44	76	80	67	51
Difference	-04	+04	+12	+07	+17	+27	+09	
	Inner City Negro Families in Non-Project Schools							
Low	16	54	75	10	47	37	53	325
High	20	60	83	05	70	60	72	126
Difference	+04	+06	+08	-05	+23	+23	+19	

score) will tend to be reached by linking mechanisms which give the organization more initiative or by those which are organizationally passive.

We recognize that our analysis is partially tautological since some of the items included in the definitions of the linking mechanisms as having high or low organizational initiative explicitly took account of whether mothers were in contact with the school because of some problem their child was having. In this light, the item we are examining can be viewed as a consistency check because it comes from a different source (viz., the teachers rather than the parents). But we also view it as a semi-independent check of the linking theory because there is no empirical reason why families who are having trouble cannot use the passive mechanisms as well.

With this caution in mind we can examine Table 16-4 which provides information for the gross inner and outer city neighborhoods.2/ The results generally follow the patterns of prior tables with those who are closest to the school (not having children in trouble) tending to use the passive linking mechanisms while those who are more distant from the school tend to be reached by the linking mechanisms which give the school greater initiative.

Before turning from this aspect of our study of linkages we should comment on the effects of changes in school structure (i.e., the project school effect) on the linking mechanisms. Table 16-3 suggests that with race and education controlled, the effects of the project schools were accomplished mostly through three mechanisms: the detached worker approach, the mass media approach, and the settlement house approach. There is a modest effect shown in formal authority, mixed findings on voluntary association, and no increase in use of common messenger or opinion leaders. These findings coincide with our impressions of the situation from several years of contact with the project schools. The major thrust went to develop after-school programs for children and parents. Frequently a detached worker approach was used as a recruiting device or as a supplement to the after-school program. This partially explains why the detached worker device used was a very modest form because in many instances it was not used to try to produce major changes in educational orientation but rather as an attempt to recruit people into the after-school program. Where families were very distant (i.e., required much contact) or where the after-school program was mostly recreational with little change potential, then the detached worker mechanism had little effect.

Table 16-4

Per Cent of Families Using Types of Linking Mechanisms by Teacher Behavior Rating of Child, Education of Respondent, and Neighborhood

		High Organizational Initiative		Moderate Organizational Initiative		Low Organizational Initiative			
Education	Behavior Rating	Detached Worker	Formal Authority	Common Messenger	Mass Media	Settlement House	Voluntary Association	Opinion Leader	Pop.
				Inner City Neighborhood					
Low	Positive	25	44	79	11	39	51	51	(314)
	Negative	33	58	70	16	34	42	49	(473)
	Difference	-08	-14	+09	-05	+05	+09	+02	
High	Positive	23	46	85	17	62	72	70	(115)
	Negative	31	68	88	18	56	65	66	(114)
	Difference	-08	-22	-03	-01	+06	+07	+04	
				Outer City Neighborhood					
Low	Positive	12	37	78	21	42	64	65	(90)
	Negative	15	47	75	26	31	46	62	(104)
	Difference	-03	-10	+03	-05	+11	+18	+03	
High	Positive	19	30	83	33	49	85	80	(163)
	Negative	23	51	63	36	48	72	72	(156)
	Difference	-04	-21	+20	-03	+01	+13	+08	

Despite these possible limitations, a major overriding consideration must not be overlooked. The project schools were in the lowest income areas in our sample. They constitute three of the four schools with the lowest achievement norms. For other reasons as well, they encompassed families which were most distant from the school. Furthermore, the project schools were explicitly charged with bringing people into after-school programs and keeping the attendance high. The use of the detached worker approach to reach this distant community for this purpose is in line with predictions one would make from the linkage or balance theory. Added confirmation is the fact that the schools dominated by white families (the most distant group of all) had the greatest use of the detached worker program.3/ Since the school-community agents were pioneering in efforts with little knowledge about community organization, and since they were subject to a traditional school orientation, it is not surprising they sought to enlarge the scope of their effects while retaining a modicum of intensity, using a combination of after-school programs (settlement house) and detached worker approaches. It is a tribute to their sensitivity to the needs of the people that they moved toward a settlement house concept rather than a voluntary association one. The low state of knowledge in the field and the short time the project was in operation explains why they used both of these mechanisms in very weak forms. As a consequence, they did little to effect the more subtle forms of social relations in the neighborhood (e.g., the frequency of opinion leader relationships).

The heavy use of the mass media by project schools was for the most part simply an inexpensive way of carrying on the large after-school programs that developed. Mimeographed notices about coming events could be readily distributed announcing new programs, etc., with little expenditure of time and effort. We would hypothesize that this functioned positively mainly for people who were already oriented toward the schools or participating in the programs.

In terms of the balance theory the important thing is that the project schools with their socially distant populations departed radically from the usual practice in low income areas and sent personnel into the community in order to get school-community programs going and that they coupled this with a settlement house form of influence. If they had not used these linkages (even in their weak form), it is quite likely that they would not have been able to accomplish the most superficial goal they set for themselves, i.e., to bring large numbers of families into after-school programs.

So far in our discussion we have sought to show that families which were socially distant from the schools were better reached via mechanisms which we have labeled as permitting greater organizational initiative and families which are close to the schools are better reached by mechanisms which are organizationally passive. The comparisons made seem to provide some evidence for our theory of linkages as well as possible evidence for the operation of the overall balance theory. In the case where we could point to a school mandate to make closer contact with the community (the project schools), and where there is some criterion of effectiveness (number of people in after-school programs), we saw the schools proceeded--in a groping and uncertain way, to be sure--to engage in efforts that can be identified with linking mechanisms that maximize organizational initiative. On balance, we think the evidence is supportive of the theory of linkages as well as our overall balance theory.

Neighborhood Concept, Families, and Linking Mechanisms

We now consider a complex notion of social distance. As we have suggested, it is a serious theoretical and policy error to assume that the family operates in a social vacuum. In this study we have put special stress on the neighborhood as an important factor in defining social distance. In the above analysis certain unexpected findings appear which we think are a function of the fact that there is discrepancy between the family and the neighborhood definition of social distance.

A case in point is the high educated white family in a poor neighborhood. The high educated family might have positive values and be well organized to implement them but, because of the extremely deviant neighborhood within which it lives, may seek to isolate itself from the local school since it has an option to move to another neighborhood and thereby improve the educational environment of the children. Put abstractly as an hypothesis, a motivated and well organized family living in an extremely poor educational neighborhood will place great social distance between itself and the local school. If only family measures are taken of social distance we would not recognize this point and would be puzzled (as indeed we were) by the fact that the high educated families in poor neighborhoods frequently did not use passive mechanisms. In contemporary urban society where neighborhoods tend to be settled homogeneously by status (i.e., people from same income, ethnic group, racial group, etc.), and where we have neighborhood schools, the combination of high status educationally motivated family and poor neighborhood is likely to lead to social distance. If we were to prevent mobility out of the neighborhood, or if we were to break up homogeneous neighborhood groupings, or if we were to develop a non-neighborhood school concept, we might not have the phenomenon of social distance occurring when high status families and low status neighborhoods combine.

We will explore this hypothesis along two lines. First, we provide several independent tests of the hypothesis that high status families in low status neighborhoods will be socially distant and avoid passive linking mechanisms. But, in addition, we want to show that the minority members of a neighborhood, whether high or low in status, will tend to be socially distant, and not as reachable through passive linking mechanisms as members of the majority. There will, however, be quite different reasons for this, depending on low or high status position of the minority member. Thus, the high status person who is a minority member will seek to leave in order to associate with someone of equal or greater status. However, a low status person who is a minority member will not necessarily want to leave but will be actively excluded by the higher status majority.

This calls attention to an important aspect of passive mechanisms not commented on up to now. Mechanisms which depend more on family initiative generally assume some significant degree of association among family members affecting the use of the mechanisms. Thus, passive linkage mechanisms, such as opinion leader, voluntary association, and settlement house, are characterized by the fact that they throw families into contact with each other. Certainly this is the case more so than with the detached worker or formal authority which is more likely to involve contact between a given family member and a professional staff person. The passive mechanisms are more controlled by the families, and this is part of what we mean by family initiative.

If this argument is accepted, we can see why minority members of a neighborhood tend to be socially distant. In the case of the high status family in a low status neighborhood, they will seek to avoid passive mechanisms because they throw him into contact with people of lower status. An exception is the opinion leader mechanisms where the individual is more able to choose someone of the same status. On the other hand, where the high status person is in the majority, he will seek to exclude the low status person from close association with him. In other words, he prevents the low status person from using the passive linking mechanisms (again, the exception would be the opinion leader). Thus, he can prevent the low status person from having access to the school and thereby artificially create social distance. The only way the schools can reach these people is by using a linking mechanism which provides a great school initiative.4/

We will first explore the case of the high status educationally motivated person who is free to move and who is in a neighborhood-school situation which he defines as poor. In such a case, we might reasonably expect him to isolate himself from the schools. Next, we will present data on the more general proposition that people who are in the minority--whether high or low status--in a neighborhood will be socially distant. We will also look at some evidence that where determined efforts are made by school personnel the isolation of the high or low status minority groups may be overcome.

High Educated Families in Low Income Areas

We pointed out earlier that high educated families in low income areas (project schools) are less likely to use passive linkage mechanisms than we would expect from our theory. Another way of examining this issue is to compare parents who have children who are doing well in school with those whose children are not. The assumption is that if the parent is well educated, living in a low status neighborhood, and her child is doing well in school, she would have little incentive to come into the school. Rather, her major incentive would be to isolate herself from other parents who are lower in status. If she is white she could do this by trying to leave the neighborhood. If she is Negro, she does not have this option and might seek closer communication with the school staff but in a personal rather than a wider group situation. On the other hand, if her child is doing poorly in school, unless she can leave the neighborhood, the high educated minority family is under considerably more pressure to use all links to the school to improve the situation.5/

To test this idea we present Table 16-5 which is confined to inner city families. We use the fourth grade Iowa scores of the children which were taken one to two-and-a-half years prior to our study date. This is the only item we have that pre-dates the parent-school contacts we are measuring. To sharpen the analysis we use the linking mechanisms most likely to reflect social distance of high status families in low status areas.

In interpreting Table 16-5, we focus on the high educated mother as the high status person, or the one most likely to have high aspirations for the child's education, and therefore as least likely to want to associate with her lower status neighbors. We can see that in four out of the four comparisons, the educated mother whose child did better in school is less likely to use the voluntary association and the settlement house mechanisms than is the educated mother whose child did poorly. At the same time, we can see that where a mother is presumably not involved in invidious status distinctions (i.e., the poorly educated mother), the

Table 16-5

Per Cent of Inner City Families Using Passive Mechanisms,
by Fourth Grade Reading Achievement Score of Child,
Education, and Race

		Low Education Child's Fourth Grade Score			High Education Child's Fourth Grade Score		
Race	Linking Mechanism	Below Norm*	Above Norm	Diff.	Below Norm	Above Norm	Diff.
White	Settlement House	27	29	+ 2	47	33	-14
	Voluntary Association	41	48	+ 7	70	44	-26
	Settlement House	43	52	+ 9	66	61	-05
	Voluntary Association	49	59	+10	73	71	-02
				Population**			
White		(213)	(52)		(20)	(9)	
Negro		(405)	(45)		(139)	(31)	

* Children's fourth grade reading achievement scores were dichotomized into those above the fourth grade norm and those below. There was nobody precisely on the norm.

** Excluded are all families with children for whom there were no fourth grade Iowa scores.

opposite occurs. We interpret this as an indication that the low educated mother whose child is doing well does not avoid contact with neighbors and is drawn into the use of these passive mechanisms.6/ We are assuming for both the low educated and high educated mother whose child is doing well that the family is education oriented. Yet in the case of the high status mother she will tend to avoid the passive mechanisms which associate her with low status people whereas the low status mother will tend to associate with those of equal or greater status. We suggest also that the more highly educated mother may also feel she has a greater probability of moving away.

This point can be supported further by looking at the outer city where high education does not necessarily mean high status, and the gain in education of the child from a move out of the neighborhood may not be so great. It will be recalled that the really large differences in educational achievement occur between inner and outer city schools. As a consequence, the very argument that would suggest that the high educated avoid passive mechanisms in the low income inner city areas would suggest the reverse in the outer city areas. The opposite would also hold for outer city low educated who might be actively excluded from participation.

If we examine Table 16-6, we see that in the outer city the high educated mother with the high performing child is more likely to use the settlement house and voluntary association linking mechanisms than is her counterpart in the inner city. We would expect the low educated to use them less but find this is true in only one of the two comparisons. However, if we consider the entire pattern of inner and outer city behavior, we can still argue that there is evidence that to reach high status minority members who have the option to move one cannot use passive mechanisms. Or put more generally, families that are socially distant cannot be reached by passive mechanisms.

To support this argument further we present still another measure of discrepancy between family status and neighborhood status. In our analysis thus far we have had to combine two ideas in our use of education. First, it has been a measure of status, i.e., the highly educated are high status in the inner city. Second, we have assumed that it measures educational aspirations, i.e., the highly educated have greater educational aspirations for their children. It is these two assumptions taken in conjunction with our current social norms that have suggested that highly educated people in the inner city will steer away from linking mechanisms which associate them with their lower status and less aspiring neighbors. Since we have a measure of the parent's educational aspirations for her child, we may introduce it to test

Table 16-6

Per Cent of Outer City Families Using Passive Mechanisms,
by Fourth Grade Reading Achievement Score of Child,
Education, and Race

		Low Education Child's Fourth Grade Score			High Education Child's Fourth Grade Score		
Race	Linking Mechanism	Below Norm	Above Norm	Diff.	Below Norm	Above Norm	Diff.
White	Settlement House	42	32	-10	46	53	+ 7
	Voluntary Association	50	62	+12	76	85	+ 9
				Population*			
		(102)	(84)		(113)	(186)	

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* Families with children for whom there were no fourth grade Iowa scores available are excluded.

explicitly our assumption and, at the same time, provide another measure of discrepancy between family and neighborhood.

We previously classified parents who wanted a college degree or more for their children as having high aspirations and all others were classified as having low aspirations.7/ If we examine Table 16-7, we see that for the high educated white in the inner city, the greater the mother's aspiration the less likely she is to utilize those passive mechanisms which associate her with other school parents. By contrast, for the low educated whites the greater the aspirations the more she tends to use such mechanisms. For the outer city whites, just the opposite tends to occur for the high educated and the low educated in the outer city act in the same manner as they did in the preceding table.

What differentiates Table 16-7 and 16-5 is the behavior of the Negro family. Both the high educated and low educated Negro family tend to use the settlement house when aspirations are high and the voluntary association when they are low. We have noted that the effect of educational aspirations for Negroes is different from that for whites. Perhaps this reappears in Table 16-7, or perhaps the limits on mobility potential for the Negro explain the finding.

Taking all the available data we can say at this point that there does seem to be some consistent evidence that where family and neighborhood differ, the educated white families in the inner city are socially distant and are not reached by typical passive mechanisms which associate them with other school parents. We have seen that this holds where the discrepancy is defined in terms of high educated white families in the poor neighborhood, it holds among high educated families in poor neighborhoods whose children are good students, and it holds among the high educated white mothers in poor neighborhoods who have high educational aspirations.

Minority Status in Neighborhood and Linking Mechanisms

We will discuss now the problem of social distance in its more general form; that is, the hypothesis that minority group status is always likely to be associated with greater social distance from the school regardless of whether that status is low or high. In the case of the high status minority, this may be the case because they choose it; in the case of the low status minority it may be because it is thrust upon them. Of course, this is not a necessary accompaniment of status disparity. In many instances high status people prefer status by deference and therefore prefer living among low status people. However, this is less

Table 16-7

Per Cent of Families Using Passive Mechanisms by Educational Aspirations, Education, Race, and Neighborhood

		Low Education			High Education		
Race	Linking Mechanism	Low Aspiration	High Aspiration	Diff.	Low Aspiration	High Aspiration	Diff.
				Inner City			
White	Settlement House	24	28	+04	47	30	-17
	Voluntary Association	36	43	+07	67	52	-15
Negro	Settlement House	37	49	+12	58	69	+11
	Voluntary Association	49	44	-05	49	44	-05
				Outer City			
White	Settlement House	38	35	-03	48	49	+01
	Voluntary Association	50	60	+10	74	81	+07
				Population			
Inner City White		(212)	(92)		(30)	(23)	
Inner City Negro		(257)	(226)		(66)	(111)	
Outer City White		(106)	(88)		(110)	(209)	

likely to occur in the present "open" society of urban America.

It is more likely for our sample and at the time we did the study that minority group members in the inner city will always have greater social distance. This point becomes clear if we think in terms of racial minority status rather than a socio-economic status minority not involving race. It is often observed that white families may leave an organization if they feel it is becoming dominated by Negroes, or that white families will try to keep Negroes out of an organization for fear they will have to leave once Negroes enter. In the first case, the white minority separates itself by choice and in the second case the white minority resists association. Minority economic status position has the same logic as racial minority status and, in fact, they frequently overlap.

Let us attack this same problem by using race as the indicator of status. The racial indicators are much clearer than the crude educational indices. The argument would parallel that which we have made with regard to the general problem of status. Where the whites are in the minority they will tend to avoid school linkages which would bring them into face-to-face contact with other parents. Where whites are in the majority they will tend to force out Negro families from those linkages which bring them into face-to-face contact with other parents.

We have grouped our neighborhoods first into those of project and non-project schools, second, by minority-majority status of the racial groups. Among the project schools there are two which were 99 per cent Negro with only 3 white from the 175 children in the sample drawn from these schools. There are two schools where the majority (78%) are white and the minority (22%) Negro. Therefore, in the project schools, we can study the effects of the Negro minority but not of the white minority. Among the remaining inner city schools, there are four approximately 99 to 95 per cent Negro. Altogether, only 11 white children in our sample were found in these four schools. There are two schools which are practically equal in racial comparison and two other schools where 84 per cent of the population is white. Since there were no Negro families in the outer city, they are excluded from the analysis. By looking at the three racial conditions in the inner city we can possibly see some of the effects of both white and Negro minority status. At the same time, by comparing project and non-project schools, we can get a sense of what difference if any deliberate efforts made in affecting the use of passive linkages. The project schools, with explicit commitment to racial integration, sought deliberately to bring the Negro and white parents together in all school-community programs.8/

Let us first examine those mechanisms which involve interaction with other parents or neighbors: the settlement house, the voluntary association, and the opinion leader. Table 16-8 presents the results. Where the minority groups are compared to members of their race who are in a majority situation, minority status tends to depress participation in the settlement house and voluntary association mechanisms. For the Negro families it also depresses use of the opinion leader mechanism but for the whites it does not.

There are two other things of note in this table. The difference between extreme minority and majority status is less in the project than the non-project schools for the mechanisms over which the school has some control (settlement house and voluntary association). This might well reflect the effects of a deliberate effort to get integrated participation. The second important thing to note is that minority status does not necessarily mean less participation in these mechanisms than the majority of the other race in the same school. Thus, for instance, the Negro minority in the project schools are in the same schools as the white majority but it can be seen that they actually participate more than the white majority. However, they do not participate as much as they presumably would if Negroes had been in the majority. In the non-project schools, the Negro minority participates less than the white majority in two of the three passive mechanisms. In this case, the loss of participation is not just relative to Negro majorities but to white majorities as well. We find the same is true of the white minorities where in two of the three mechanisms they are lower than the Negro majorities in their schools, as well as lower than the white majorities in other schools.

To summarize, the minorities in non-project schools seem to suffer a loss of participation in the passive forms of linkages no matter which majority group one compares them to; that is, one of a different race in the same school or one of the same race in different schools. In the project schools the minority suffers a loss relative to majorities of the same race in different schools but not relative to the members of the opposite race in the same school. Though the differences are not especially great we bring them to the reader's attention because we think they reflect the greater control over linkage mechanisms by school staff in the project schools as well as the deliberate policy of maintaining integrated programs. This could be taken as evidence that minorities need not always be socially more distant from the schools.9/

There is further evidence available on the role of staff personnel in the linkage mechanisms. If we examine the linkage mechanisms most closely controlled by the staff (i.e., those where the school has the greatest initiative such as formal authority

Table 16-8

Per Cent of Inner City Families Using Passive Mechanisms by Racial Majority-Minority Status, Race, Project Status of Schools

Race	Majority-Minority Status	Settlement House	Voluntary Association	Opinion Leader	Pop.
			Project Schools		
Negro	Majority	60	66	62	(172)
	Minority	53	51	48	(37)
			Non-Project Schools		
Negro	Majority	45	52	58	(334)
	Equal	35	52	61	(87)
	Minority	33	22	33	(30)
			Project Schools		
White	Majority	40	38	44	(113)
	Minority	--	--	--	(03)*
			Non-Project Schools		
White	Majority	23	47	45	(135)
	Equal	18	40	48	(80)
	Minority	9	18	63	(11)

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* These three cases had one person in each of the linking mechanisms.

and detached worker) we can get an estimate of the staff role. In Table 16-9 we find a striking lack of differences between the minority and majority status groups. If one compares the use of these mechanisms to the use of passive mechanisms (Table 16-8), the differences are always smaller where the staff controls the mechanisms. This is evidence that the staff members are comparatively impartial in their attention to minority and majority groups. If we consider the use of formal authority to be more imperious on the part of the school than the use of the detached worker approach, we do not find this sort of discrimination. In all cases there is a trend for the minority groups to have linkages by detached workers more than majorities of the same race and in two out of three cases more than majorities of the different race in the same school. Minorities are likely to have less or the same imposition of formal authority as majorities of the same race, and in two out of three instances less formal authority imposed upon them than upon majorities of a different race but in the same school. The differences are all very small, but the overall indications are that where school personnel control the mechanisms (e.g., in the project schools for even passive mechanisms and in all schools with school initiated mechanisms), they tend to give equal encouragement to minority and to majority groups.

However, we must not lose sight of the central point of our analysis of race. It has shown that being a member of a minority always means a loss of participation in the passive mechanisms which depend upon the initiative of families. The loss is most clearly shown when compared to majorities of the same race in different schools. However, there is some evidence that it may also hold regarding majorities in the same school but of a different race.

Conclusion

This last analysis has been one of several in this chapter to show that where there is a discrepancy between the family's status and the neighborhood's status, the minority family is likely to be socially distant from the schools and unlikely to be reached by passive linking mechanisms. The evidence consisted of showing that high educated parents in low achievement areas tend to avoid the passive mechanisms such as voluntary associations; that the minority of high educated inner city parents whose children are reading above the national average tend to avoid association with parents in the passive linking mechanisms; that the minority of white inner city parents who have high educational aspirations for their children tend to avoid passive linking mechanisms; and that racial minority groups tend to avoid passive linking mechanisms.

Table 16-9

Per Cent of Inner City Families Using Extreme Forms of School Initiated Linking Mechanisms, by Racial Majority-Minority Status, Race, and Project Status of the Schools

Race	Majority-Minority Status	Detached Worker	Formal Authority	Pop.
			Project Schools	
Negro	Majority	32	89	(172)
	Minority	64	89	(37)
			Non-Project Schools	
Negro	Majority	15	89	(334)
	Equal	18	81	(87)
	Minority	16	81	(30)
			Project Schools	
White	Majority	77	79	(128)
	Minority	--	--	(03)[*]
			Non-Project Schools	
White	Majority	13	86	(135)
	Equal	22	88	(80)
	Minority	18	82	(11)

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[*] The three cases use detached workers twice and formal authority three times.

All of this supports the point that the family's educational goals and social structure are not sufficient to define the family's social distance from the school. But, even more important for our purpose, the evidence seems to indicate that social distance involving effects of the neighborhood context is not likely to be closed by passive mechanisms of linkage.

We began this chapter with the hope of being able to demonstrate that the underlying theory of linkages had some validity. In addition, insofar as we could assume that the schools were really interested in effective community relations, we hoped to find encouragement of the more general balance theory. As evidence for both of these points we have tried to demonstrate that when families are socially distant, mechanisms having great organizational initiative tend to reach them whereas when families are socially close, mechanisms which have passive forms of linkages reach them. Thus, we saw that outer city whites used passive mechanisms more than inner city whites; Negroes used passive mechanisms more than inner city whites; educated people used passive mechanisms more than non-educated people; project schools stressed high initiative mechanisms as well as high intensive mechanisms in addition to the traditional ones; and finally, people who were majority members of the neighborhood used passive linking mechanisms more than did minority members.

It should, however, be kept in mind that the evidence offered here in support of our theory of linkages and our more general balance theory is limited to the mechanisms' ability to reach families. It is quite another matter to show that their children will be affected. To this we turn in the next chapter.

We must recognize that there are still several important factors yet unconsidered in our analysis of who uses the linking mechanisms. We are aware that the administrative style of the school, as well as the practices of the teachers, may play a substantial role in the use of linking mechanisms. We have barely scratched the surface of this problem with our initial distinction between project and non-project schools. We shall come back to this problem in the chapter following the next. Since two major implications follow from our analysis at this point and we cannot pursue them both simultaneously, our choice is to examine first the dimensions of linking mechanisms which affect the child's reading pattern and turn then to a more detailed discussion of the school and the teachers.

Chapter 16

Footnotes

1. In this and all succeeding tables we defined frequent participation in a given mechanism as follows:
   a. Detached worker; anybody who has had one or more contact.
   b. Formal authority; anybody who has had more than five contacts. The exception to this occurs in tables run for racial minority-majority where anybody having more than one contact was considered high. The reason for this difference is purely accidental. These data were run differently than others and rather than not include them in the report we supply them in a slightly different form.
   c. Common messenger; anybody who had more than five contacts.
   d. Mass media; anybody who said yes.
   e. Settlement house; anybody with more than five contacts.
   f. Voluntary association; anybody with more than five contacts.
   g. Opinion leader; anybody who said yes.

   To the extent possible where there was a frequency distribution, we sought to make the cutting point as close to the median as possible. However, there were times when there was such a concentration on a middle category (common messenger) that this was not possible.

2. We do not have the data run by project and non-project schools.

3. It is interesting that the area was all Negro in one school where the school-community agent said there was no need to develop a detached worker approach because she had been in the area a long time and already knew everybody in the school. In this school, the after-school program tended to concentrate on children (who could be reached during school hours) rather than adults. Finally, when a program developed which called for parents to come into school on a regular basis, the agent in question moved to a detached worker approach. Not wanting to utilize it herself, she chose to hire someone else to go into the neighborhood to recruit families.

   When a school operated in a situation where most families were close to the school, a school-community agent could play the "numbers game" (show many people attending after-school programming) without resorting to a detached worker approach or having much in the way of a settlement house program. The authority of the principal, a "lively" voluntary association (PTA), or many programs where children performed would bring parents in.

4. Community agents commented on the fact that in many schools in low income areas a small group of parents would get control of the PTA and prevent others from joining. One agent told how far the effort toward excluding low status people went. The parents were requested to organize a motorcade to go to the state capitol to support some pending legislation. It was quite clear that it was desirable to get as large a turnout as possible. In the school in question parents who controlled the PTA, rather than bring in low status school parents, asked friends of equal status who had no children in the school to join the motorcade.

5. An alternative explanation might be that the parent who associates with others living in a poor neighborhood will pick up the child-rearing norms of that neighborhood and be influenced by the inadequate knowledge and value base which, in turn, will have a negative influence on the child. From this point of view, contacts in the use of the settlement house and voluntary association mechanisms would be similar to the formation of friendships in low achievement neighborhoods. We showed in earlier chapters that parents integrated into low achievement areas will have children who read less well. The question in such an analysis would be the power of the linking mechanisms. Where the voluntary association and the settlement house contacts with the school are merely sociable occasions with no real change focus or professional expertise, they may very well reinforce negative group norms. We have not advanced this line of esplanation in the main body of our report because, as we shall note later, those who utilize settlement house and voluntary association tend to be people whose children do better rather than worse than others.

6. This is not to say that Negro and white families will react in entirely the same way in all respects. As we have noted before, the white families have options to move which the Negro families do not. As a consequence, the Negro high educated family has on an absolute level greater contact with the schools through these linking mechanisms than does the white high educated family. More generally, the Negro-white differences previously noted still exist.

7. See Chapter 9.

8. This effort was given greater impetus by the value commitment of the community agents--the individuals having the most time to implement school community interaction. In the schools where it really mattered (where there were substantial minorities) the agents were extremely strong advocates of racial equality. In addition, the tenor of the times in Detroit when this study was done was such that the administrator of the Great Cities Project, as well as the school board and key personnel, viewed with great sympathy any effort to increase integration. For these reasons, the project schools were in a good position to implement integration in their school-community linkages.

9. In the one situation where we can compare extreme minority and moderate minority status--the non-project schools--we can see in all but one of the six comparisons where races were mixed, they tend to be closer to the position of the majority than the minority. We call this to the reader's attention not because we feel the evidence is very strong but to sensitize him to the idea that there may be threshold effects. The effect of being a minority member in a system might not be felt unless one is a substantial minority. What this concretely means in our situation is that a school which consists of equal parts of Negro and white families provides more than enough opportunities for both Negro and white families to form substantial neighborhood supportive milieus. These, in turn, can give support to the family to engage in its customary activity. As such, it again would be evidence of the key accelerator role that the neighborhood can play.

Chapter 17

Linking Mechanisms and Reading Achievement--
A Second Test

We have sought to demonstrate in our analysis of the linking mechanisms that they have differential capacities to cross social distance. Reaching the person you seek to communicate with is an essential step in the process of influence, but to reach him is far from influencing him. It is the problem of influence we want to address in this chapter. For our purpose, influence means either increasing a child's reading skill or preventing it from declining.

We have argued that to change an extremely deviant group it is necessary to have primary group intensity (e.g., be with the individual over long periods of time, in many different areas of life, and develop a trust relationship). However, it should also be clear that the problem for schools (and for many bureaucratic organizations) is not just to deal with the most resistant group. Frequently, the group to be influenced is sympathetic to the school's purpose and only requires knowledge. For such a group the level of primary group intensity can be low. Some form of expert knowledge is more important. Perhaps even more important, especially when dealing with groups of limited knowledge, is the neighborhood situation. If a family has positive values but lives in a neighborhood where the stress is in the opposite direction, the process of influence may simply be to put them in touch with other families of a similar orientation so that they can reinforce each other. An outside observer may have played a crucial influence role, for without this reinforcement the family may not have been able to keep the child educationally oriented.

It is an error to assume that overcoming deviant educational values or maintaining positive ones will always result from maximizing the amount of primary group intensity that can be brought to bear on the family. Our theory argues that where families are too close to the school, more intensive relationships are likely to lead to a disruption of the family or the school atmospheres. Although we offer this as a theoretically correct statement, we also recognize that in our sample the overwhelming proportion of our families do not fit the assumptions. Because of the poor neighborhood support, the families of the inner city are never too close. Even the high educated white family in the inner city, because of invidious status considerations, is quite distant from the schools. The high educated Negro who is most motivated to cooperate with the schools is still at some distance because he lives in a low income and non-supportive neighborhood milieu and does not have the income necessary to implement his values. The families most likely to exhibit "too closeness" would be the high educated white families in the high achievement norm outer city areas. Yet, even here, we do not have in our sample the highest income groups or those with the greatest educational drive. Our sample, restricted to the Detroit city limits, excluded the substantial middle class groups that live in the suburbs. These groups are wealthier, probably more achievement oriented, and probably more insistent on doing well in school. We are not speaking of a small elite in the upper class, but of a considerable segment of the upper middle class, e.g., middle size business, professionals, and middle range executives. We have only impressionistic evidence, but we feel that the problem of too closeness is most likely to appear in some suburban schools where teachers and principals feel under constant pressure to give good grades regardless of ability, and are subject to retaliating actions by offended high status parents. These are likewise the areas where parents sometimes put so much pressure on the child that there may be evidence of personal and educational breakdowns which are a product of excessive parental expectations rather than the level of the child's ability.

For our own sample we did ask some questions which sought explicitly to define overpushing mothers. The most explicit item was addressed to the homeroom teacher of the child (the one who has the child for half a day):

> How much does this child's home give support to your educational efforts?
>
> a. Home tends to push child too hard
> b. Home gives exceptional support
> c. Home gives appropriate support
> d. Home gives much less support than desirable
> e. Not familiar with child's home situation

Of the entire 513 families in the outer city there were only 12 families who were rated as pushing their children too much. Twenty out of the 1017 families in the inner city received this rating. Since we feel for all practical purposes the only dangers of "too closeness" lay in the outer city, this meant we had no cases really to work with. Even the 12 cases occurred in the moderately high achievement neighborhood rather than the high achievement one, and could hardly be taken to represent real overpush that is a reflection of a surrounding milieu which also overstresses educational achievement. In such cases, neither the child nor the teacher has a counter base to combat the overpush.

Our intent when designing the study was to include several schools where we might study the overpush hypothesis. We were torn between this desire and the advantage of remaining within a single school system. After completing the field work we discovered that we had not been successful in including schools where there was real overpush. With this limitation we can only study the effects of overpush in a limited manner; we can only say that intense mechanisms should not have quite as strong an effect among the families which are very close to the school rather than say they will produce negative results. Because we cannot examine the "overpush" problem properly in our sample, some of the theoretical implications of the balance theory cannot be fully explored.1/

Our problems for testing the balance theory are further complicated by the fact that very powerful mechanisms were not employed for reaching the community, although we do have very deviant neighborhood and family situations. In our discussion of linking mechanisms, we pointed out that even the experimental project schools did not have the strong forms of detached worker used by some other organizations. We also suggested that they did not have very powerful forms of the settlement house approach (partly as a consequence of the poor state of the knowledge). These two mechanisms would be critical ones for changing the very deviant groups in our society. As a consequence, we cannot fully explore the other extreme of balance theory. Again, we will only be able to make relative inferences.2/

We make these qualifying statement, not because we feel that our efforts to test the theory are not valid, but rather to locate for the reader exactly what it is that is being empirically verified and what is being omitted.

There is yet another problem to be considered before evaluating the empirical evidence. The study was conducted at a single time period, but we are making inferences about the effects of the schools' contacts on the family over time. We have no clear cut evidence indicating whether school contacts lead to reading levels or the other way around. A correlation between school contacts and the child's achievement could lead to wrong inferences regarding what produced what. Throughout this chapter we shall frequently make statements about the influence of school contacts on the child's achievement score.

Reasoning behind an assertion of causal relationship should be clearly understood so that the reader, if he does not agree, may interpret our data differently. If there is a positive association between school contacts and a child's grades, we may attribute a causal relation on at least three bases:

1. The contact provided the mother with support which permitted her to aid the child who, in turn, improved his reading skill.

2. Mothers who were interested in education sought out school contacts and, as a consequence of these contacts, were able to maintain their values and knowledge bases. Mothers who were similarly equipped but did not engage in these contacts were not able to maintain their value and knowledge base. As a result, the mother in the first case had children who maintained their reading skills while mothers in the second case had children who did not.

3. The same factor which causes a good mother to provide support for the child causes her to attend school meetings. However, the school meeting has no (direct or indirect) effect on the child.

Put more simply, the first position says that contact actually improves the child's reading skill. The second one argues that the contact is one of the processes by which parents reinforce their values and prevent the child from slipping, while the third point is that contact is spuriously related to the child's reading skill. In this study, points 1 and 2 are what we mean when we say the mechanism has had an effect, or that it influences the child. Contact is therefore viewed as an independent factor or as part of a family feed-back relationship which affects the child's reading achievement. In our interpretation of the data we tend to minimize the problem of spuriousness for it is difficult for us to think of what the spurious factor might be. If we knew what it was we would indeed give it serious consideration. But if it is only a logical possibility we can only acknowledge the possibility and live with uncertainty, as one always must in scientific inquiry. It is not unreasonable to say that when parents interact with others on issues that are crucial to their children, they are affected by the interaction. To posit a theory that interaction does not affect the participant is a far greater violation of "reason"and scientific evidence than to assume the relationship does affect the child. We are not saying that interaction need change a person's behavior; our hypothesis states clearly that an interaction can maintain behavior. It is difficult to assume that a person will not be affected by the interaction in one of these ways.

The second basis for arguing the validity of a causal inference is that we can partially approximate a time sequence. For most of our sample we have the children's fourth grade reading achievement scores, and some part of the contact we are measuring has taken place after this reading score was given. By holding constant the fourth grade reading score we can get a better sense of the underlying dynamics of contact and achievement. We would not say that this type of analysis is decisive for establishing effect since the pattern of visiting and child achievement could already have been settled before the fourth grade.

There is still another problem of making inferences from our observed relationships. School contact can be initiated by school or by parent. The school usually initiates contact when there is some problem with the child--generally when the child causes trouble. The more trouble the child makes, the more likely his parents are to be brought into school. If we do not somehow control for the magnitude of the child's problem, we might find ourselves falsely invalidating our theory by showing that the more contact a family has with the school, the worse he does. This would be equivalent to interpreting the proverb that "the squeaky wheel gets the grease" to mean that greasing the wheels makes them squeaky. One danger, therefore, is that we may assume contact has no effect or is harmful when in fact it actually helps. In order to deal with this problem we have two strategies. First, control for the magnitude of the child's problem, e.g., reading deficiency or school behavior. Thus, contact should only be measured with children having roughly the same behavior or reading skill to start with. We shall use our fourth grade's reading achievement scores to measure the children's reading skills and the teachers' behavior ratings to measure the child's school behavior. Our second strategy is to analyze differently those modes of contact initiated by the school and those not initiated by them. We will, in addition, further subdivide these into contacts which involve behavior problems versus those that do not.

Frequency of All Contacts and Reading Achievement

Let us take as our first measure of the influence potential of school-community contacts the absolute frequency of all contacts. This is the sum of the items used in the seven linking mechanisms discussed in earlier chapters. This is a simple measure and its use requires many assumptions, the most pertinent of which are that the more contact a parent has with the school the greater the chance of primary group intensity (the greater the chance that contact will evolve over many different areas of life, the greater the chance that some positive affect will develop), and the greater the chance the parent will be put in touch with an expert who can answer her questions. There are some writers who, in principle, might accept these assumptions.(36) We feel they are quite heroic and only advance them here to see if they might hold for our particular sample. In later sections of this chapter we shall explicitly suggest some circumstances where they will not hold.

We examine the effects of frequency of contact, controlling for the race of the family, the project status of the schools, and the neighborhood, three of the factors which defined social distance of the family. Presumably, the more intense the contact (i.e., the more frequent the contact), the more effective it will be for changing deviant educational values or reinforcing positive ones which the family now holds.

An examination of Table 17-1 reveals both a race and a neighborhood effect. We shall use the difference between those with high and low contact as a measure of effect. There is a definite trend for the Negro families to be more benefitted by contact than the inner city white families. At the same time, there is a neighborhood effect. The project schools are with one exception all located in the low achievement normed neighborhood, while the non-project schools with one exception are all located in the moderately low achievement normed neighborhood. Table 17-1 indicates that the families in the low achievement neighborhoods (project schools) are less benefitted by total contacts than the non-project schools. In the case of the white inner city families, the analysis should state that contact is less negatively related to reading skills in the moderately low achievement rather than the low achievement neighborhoods. Finally, we should note that the outer city whites are more benefitted than the inner city whites.

The question arises as to how consistent these initial findings are with a balance theory of coordination. If we can assume that the schools are not using the most powerful forms of high initiative, high intensity mechanisms (e.g., detached gang workers or missionaries), and we further assume that we do have an educationally very deviant group among the inner city whites and in low achievement areas, then the findings make considerable sense. What they show is that the closer the families are to the schools the more contact will effect a change. This is expected in the inner city where all families are at some social distance from the school.

It is not as much expected of the outer city where the dangers of too closeness could conceivably exist. However, as we pointed out in our sample, it is difficult to find families who

Table 17-1

Reading Achievement by Total Frequency of School-Family Contacts, by Project and Neighborhood Status of Schools

Race	Project Status	Low Contacts (0-40)	High Contacts (41 or more)	Difference
		Inner City Families		
White	Project	(86) -11.3	(45) -13.6	- 2.3
	Non-Project	(192) - 8.1	(34 - 9.0	- 0.9
Negro	Project	(101) -16.2	(108) -14.0	+ 2.2
	Non-Project	(331) -13.0	(120) -10.1	+ 2.9
		Outer City Families		
White	Non-Project	(335) + 2.0	(178) + 4.7	+ 2.7

are too close although we intend to provide some evidence on this matter below. At this point we defer the issue of the outer city and argue for the consistency of the data with the hypothesis in the inner city.

We should like to consider another factor in our definition of social distance: education of respondent. Table 17-2 shows that for inner city Negroes and outer city whites, the higher educated seem to be more positively affected by total contact than the more poorly educated. Only among the white inner city families are the high educated likely to gain less than the low educated. This is, of course, consistent with previous analysis of this group, i.e., that highly educated whites will seek to isolate themselves and move, etc. These findings would again be consistent with the balance theory--if the reader grants the assumptions about the social distance of whites in inner city and the weak type of linking mechanism used by the schools.

We now introduce another notion of social distance as well as a control on the "squeaky wheel" effect. We want to see whether parents with children who do well are making contact or parents who are making contact actually increase their ability to help their children. We can look at this by using information on how good a reader the child was in the fourth grade, six to thirty months earlier than our surveys. The fourth grade reading score also helps define the magnitude of the problem, suggesting that the child has either a long term or a short term reading problem. In addition to this measure, we also have a measure of the teacher's behavior rating of the child. Up until very recently being a behavior problem was perhaps the chief reason schools took the initiative in reaching parents. It is therefore necessary to have some matching on this attribute before we look at the effects of school contact on reading skills.

These two measures taken in conjunction will constitute a control on the seriousness of the issues over which the contact is being made. Thus, the least serious issue and the one which would likely lead to a false confirmation of the hypothesis is the contact which is made where the child has been a good reader since the fourth grade and is not a behavior problem. Next will be contact when the child has been a good reader and is also a behavior problem since his difficulties are probably either minor or recent. By contrast, the last two situations will be viewed as more serious: where the child has a long record of poor reading but is not a behavior problem, or where he has a long record and is a behavior problem. The long term character of the reading problem is not something easily changed. This ordering gives greater weight to the fourth grade reading score than to the

Table 17-2

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact, Education, Race, and Neighborhood

Race	Education	Low Contacts	High Contacts	Difference
		Inner City Families		
White	Low	(245) - 9.9	(59) -11.8	- 1.9
	High	(33) - 3.3	(20) -11.1	- 7.8
Negro	Low	(344) -14.4	(139) -14.4	0.0
	High	(88) -10.9	(89) - 8.2	+ 2.7
		Outer City Families		
White	Low	(145) - 2.2	(49) - 2.2	0.0
	High	(190) + 5.2	(129) + 7.4	+ 2.2

current evaluation of behavior in school for two reasons. First, knowing the fourth grade score permits us to say something about the length of time and therefore the severity of the defect. Second, we believe that the schools are more reactive to behavior problems than to reading deficiencies. A child who caused even modest trouble in the classroom would be likely to get quick attention from the teachers (e.g., spoken to, sent to the principal, etc.), but a child would have to be an extremely bad reader in the low income areas to receive any special attention (e.g., the average child was close to two years behind the national norm). As a consequence, behavior problems are more regularly "solved" by the schools (e.g., throw the child out of school, get his mother to take action, send for the school social worker, or put the child into special schools).3/

These two measures (fourth grade reading score and teacher behavior rating) are in part a function of the family's social distance from the school. Thus, the family that does not have high educational values, or is unable to implement them, or both, is more likely to send to school children who are behavior problems as well as poor readers. In addition, this composite measure takes into account individual weakness the child might have, e.g., low intelligence or biological deficiencies, etc. Because of our sample size, the introduction of these measures makes it difficult at the same time to maintain other measures of family distance. We therefore will put strong emphasis on the family distance component of these fourth grade reading scores as well as the current behavior ratings. They are a more severe measure of social distance than many of the measures we have used up to now since they include not only the social factors but biological ones as well.

In Table 17-3, we designate the Negro inner city, the white inner city and the outer city family by degree of problem the child has in school. We will assume that the child who is a good reader (above average) and has no behavior problem (positive) comes from a family which is closest to the school, and the child who has both a long term reading problem (below average) and a behavior problem (negative) comes from the family which has the greatest distance from the school.

Arranged in this manner we can see that the closer the Negro inner city family is to the school (e.g., the child is not a behavior problem and was a good reader in the fourth grade), the more contact improved the child's reading skill (or the more the family is able to maintain the child's prior high reading level). We find the same thing is relatively true of the inner city white family as well, but for this group in all categories there is a

Table 17-3

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact, Fourth Grade Reading Achievement,* Behavior Rating, Race, and Neighborhood

Fourth Grade Achievement	Behavior Rating	Low Contacts	High Contacts	Difference
		Inner City White Families		
Below Average	Negative	(105) -13.2	(40) -16.2	- 3.0
	Positive	(82) - 8.2	(20) -10.7	- 2.5
Above Average	Negative	(20) - 1.6	(1) --	--
	Positive	(27) + 0.1	(13) - 0.5	- 0.6
		Inner City Negro Families		
Below Average	Negative	(231) -16.5	(112) -15.3	+ 1.2
	Positive	(124) -12.6	(76) -11.9	+ 0.7
Above Average	Negative	(20) - 4.6	(11) - 3.3	+ 1.3
	Positive	(26) - 3.7	(19) + 5.2	+ 8.3
		Outer City White Families		
Below Average	Negative	(93) - 8.5	(39) - 9.1	- 0.6
	Positive	(51) - 6.0	(32) - 6.1	- 0.1
Above Average	Negative	(66) - 4.9	(48) + 10.9	+15.8
	Positive	(98) +14.4	(58) +15.2	+ 0.8

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* Excluded are eight per cent of our cases for which we had no fourth grade record. This will be true of the remainder of the tables in Chapter 17.

negative association between contacts and reading level. However, the closer the family is to the school, the less the negative relationship appears.

To summarize, for the inner city, we find that the closer the family is to the school and the less problems the child has, the more likely total contact is to be positively related to the child's reading skills. This would fit our balance theory if we assume that there are moderate to weak linking mechanisms and educationally very deviant families in the inner city.

For the outer city we find a curvilinear relationship. It follows the same pattern as the inner city family up to the very close group--where the child has no problem and here we find that contact has virtually no effect. We think that, relatively speaking, this extremely close group has some of the qualities of an overpush group, but since it is not strong enough we do not get the negative relationship that we would have predicted. However, this relatively negative relation is worthy of note since it receives some confirmation in later analysis.

At this point let us review our findings. We have found that if we use only the total frequency of contact as an index of intensity, focus, and initiative, there is an association between the social distance of the families and the positive effect of contact. The Negro and outer city white families have positive associations between contact and child's reading skills, whereas white inner city families have negative ones. Higher achievement neighborhoods (project schools) have more positive associations than low achievement neighborhood (project schools). The educated have more positive association than the non-educated. When we control for the prior state of the child's reading skills and the child's behavior, the families in the inner city tend to have more positive associations the better the child is as a student, but the outer city tends to have a curvilinear relationship. This latter we interpret as being some evidence for the overpush effect. All of these findings are considered consistent with a balance theory of coordination if three assertions are accepted, first, that we have included in our sample extremely deviant family groups and these generally are within the inner city family white groups. Second, that the schools have not used linking mechanism in their most powerful form. Third, that we have not included in our sample many families that are pushing their children too hard. We have sought in earlier chapters to provide evidence for the first assertion and to argue the apparent validity of the second and third as well.

Distance-Closing Mechanisms, Contact and Achievement

We can go beyond the gross test of total contact by an analysis that take account of the specific type of linking mechanism. This will permit a somewhat closer and semi-independent test of our theories and, at the same time, suggest some gaps in knowledge as well as differential policy implications of these theories.

In our theory of linkages we suggest that mechanisms which have high intensity, initiative, and focus might best close social distance. In turn, closing social distance is expected to increase the child's reading skills where the family is distant. It will have less effect or even a negative effect where the family is already very close to the schools. To examine such relationships we commence our analysis with mechanisms which tend to be dominated by the schools (e.g., either have high initiative, high focus, or school control of the physical meeting place); that is, the detached worker, the formal authority, the settlement house, and the voluntary association mechanisms.

In order to avoid the problem of the "squeaky wheel" effect, we begin the analysis of these linking mechanisms with children classified by the seriousness of problems they face in schools. Our analysis parallels the previous analysis but instead of using an overall frequency measure we use the various linking mechanisms.

First let us look at the outer city white families, the group closest to the schools. Among the outer city families, the sub-group which is closest to the schools are those who have children without any school problems. If our balance and linkage theories are correct, these children should do best where their families are linked to the school by passive, moderate intensity, and moderate focused mechanisms. Table 17-4 shows that the mechanisms which link the families in a positive fashion to the school are the voluntary association and to a lesser extent the settlement house. The voluntary association is a mechanism which ideally fits the notion of the passive, moderate intensity, moderate focus mechanism. It should also be added that the settlement house as it is implemented outside of the experimental project schools is probably also more like the voluntary association than the high intensity and high focus ones we would ideally envision.

Let us now examine the white outer city group which is at a greater distance from the school but still does not handle major problems. This would be families where the children are above average in reading scores in the fourth grade but not rated positively in their school behavior. In terms of balance theory and

Table 17-4

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Outer City White Families Closest to the School (Whose Children Were Above Average Readers in the Fourth Grade and Who Were Rated Positively in School Behavior)

Linking Mechanism	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
Detached Worker	(134) +15.1	(22) +14.5	- 0.6
Formal Authority	(110) +16.6	(46) +11.2	- 5.4
Settlement House	(85) +14.2	(71) +16.0	+ 1.8
Voluntary Association	(26) +11.3	(130 +15.7	+ 4.4

linkage theory, it would be hypothesized that mechanisms with greater initiative and intensity would be needed to reach and influence this group. If we examine Table 17-5 we see that for this group the detached worker and formal authority as well as the other mechanisms lead to higher reading skills among the children.

Finally, let us consider the most distant families in the outer city, the groups which consist of long term reading problems. By the fourth grade the children from these families were already below the national average. We think that in the outer city this poor reading achievement reflects a very serious problem. Outer city children, unlike the inner city ones, have a very supportive neighborhood milieu; the whole system pushes toward excellence in reading. For a child not to respond to this pressure means either that he is biologically limited, that he or his family suffers from serious psychological or social problems, or that the family and child are extremely alienated from education. What our balance and linking theory would suggest is that such families can be reached and influenced only through mechanisms that have powerful initiative as well as extraordinary intensity, such as some analogue to youth workers in the field of juvenile delinquency, to guided group interaction in the "settlement house" efforts, to the concept of missionary in the religious field. We have noted that the schools in our study did not utilize mechanisms with this power and as a consequence we would anticipate that no mechanism controlled by the school would affect these families very much even though the school might seek to reach them. If we look at Table 17-6 we can see that there is a negative association between contact using any of the indicated mechanisms and reading achievement. However, if one takes magnitude of difference into account, the mechanisms that, relatively speaking, do best are formal authority (high initiative and high focus) and settlement house (high focus and moderate intensity).

Let us now turn to the group next most likely to take a positive attitude toward the schools--the Negro inner city families. They are differentiated from the outer city families in that they live in a neighborhood milieu which is much less supportive of education, and because of their lower incomes and knowledge base are generally not as well equipped to aid their children educationally. Thus, all the sub-groups of Negro families are more distant from the schools than their counterparts among white outer city families. As a consequence, we would expect that for all Negro families in the inner city, mechanisms having some intensity and initiative would be needed.

We look first at the Negro families that are closest to the schools, e.g., those whose children have no school problems

Table 17-5

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact
Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Outer City
White Families at a Moderate Distance from the Schools
(e.g., Children Above Average Readers but
Rated Negatively on School Behavior)

Linking Mechanism	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
Detached Worker	(87) + 6.2	(27) + 11.3	+ 5.1
Formal Authority	(66) + 6.1	(48) + 9.2	+ 3.1
Settlement House	(60) + 5.3	(54) + 9.7	+ 4.4
Voluntary Association	(34) + 3.2	(80) + 9.2	+ 6.0

Table 17-6

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contacts Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Outer City Families with Most Distance from Schools (Children Were Below Average Readers in the Fourth Grade)

Linking Mechanisms	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
Positive Behavior			
Detached Worker	(64) - 5.7	(19) - 7.4	- 1.7
Formal Authority	(50) - 5.9	(33) - 6.4	- 0.5
Settlement House	(39) - 5.6	(44) - 7.4	- 1.8
Voluntary Association	(22) - 3.9	(61) - 6.9	- 3.0
Negative Behavior			
Detached Worker	(108) - 8.2	(24) -13.3	- 5.1
Formal Authority	(60) - 8.3	(72) -10.0	- 1.7
Settlement House	(81) - 9.0	(51) - 9.3	- 0.3
Voluntary Association	(56) - 1.9	(76) - 8.6	- 6.7

(Table 17-7). As in the outer city, the passive, moderate intensity, moderate focus voluntary association mechanism has a positive effect. However, this sub-group of inner city Negro families differs from those white outer city families by showing a positive effect from the use of the detached worker as well as the settlement house approach--a high initiative, high intensity approach. This combination of mechanisms makes a great deal of sense. They provide for recruitment of families who might otherwise isolate themselves from the school, but once recruited and brought into association with each other, may reinforce one another's positive values.

Let us now turn to the short term or minor school behavior problem where the child was a good reader in the fourth grade but rated currently as average or lower in school behavior. We would expect this child to benefit in families linked to schools through mechanisms of greater initiative and greater intensity than the previous group. If we examine Table 17-8 we find two differences in the pattern from the previous group. First, we find that the settlement house mechanism seems to be clearly the most successful. Second, we find the mechanism which provides school initiative is formal authority rather than the detached worker. This is understandable since the problem is one of behavior and the school's formal authority system is mostly geared to handling such problems. It is also consistent with the theory that the higher intensity settlement house approach is more effective than the moderate intensity voluntary association. However, we would have hoped for greater effects from the mechanism providing initiative in this group if the theory of linkages and balance were optimally predictive. We think the answer in part lies in the measurement of formal authority which stresses the problem aspects of the contact and as such very much encourages the "squeaky wheel" phenomenon--i.e., the worse the child is in school the more likely there is to be school-family contacts. If we are right about our measurement of formal authority, even a modest gain with the measure we use may be equivalent to major gains with other mechanisms.

Let us consider the children of inner city Negro families who have long term reading problems. We cannot make the same assumptions as we made about the white outer city families. A child who is a long term poor reader in the inner city may very well reflect "cultural" deprivation rather than innate biological or deep-rooted psychological problems. In any case, it is interesting to see in Table 17-9 that the Negro child labeles both a behavior and reading problem is helped by the formal authority, settlement house, and voluntary association mechanisms whereas the white outer city family was not. This sub-group of Negro families should be more distant from the schools than any of the

Table 17-7

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contacts Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Inner City Negro Families that Are Closest to the Schools (Children Were Above Average Readers in the Fourth Grade and Rated Positively on School Behavior)

Linking Mechanisms	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
Detached Worker	(31) - 2.4	(14) + 5.4	+ 7.8
Formal Authority	(15) + 3.1	(30) - 1.6	- 1.5
Settlement House	(21) - 3.5	(24) + 3.1	+ 6.6
Voluntary Association	(17) - 4.1	(28) + 1.9	+ 6.0

Table 17-8

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contacts Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Inner City Negro Families at Moderate Distance from the School (Children Were Above Average Readers in Fourth Grade and Rated Negatively on School Behavior)

Linking Mechanism	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
Detached Worker	(17) - 4.0	(14) - 4.2	- 0.2
Formal Authority	(14) - 4.6	(17) - 3.7	+ 0.9
Settlement House	(15) - 8.1	(16) - 0.3	+ 7.8
Voluntary Association	(13) - 5.3	(18) - 3.3	+ 2.0

Table 17-9

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contacts Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Inner City Negro Families Which Are Most Distant from the Schools (Children Were Below Average Readers in the Fourth Grade), by Rating in School Behavior

Linking Mechanisms	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
	Positive Behavior		
Detached Worker	(168) -12.1	(32) -13.7	- 1.6
Formal Authority	(101) -11.8	(99) -13.0	- 1.2
Settlement House	(90) -12.1	(110) -12.5	- 0.4
Voluntary Association	(71) -11.6	(129) -12.8	- 1.2
	Negative Behavior		
Detached Worker	(256) -16.0	(87) -16.8	- 0.8
Formal Authority	(130) -17.1	(213) -15.6	+ 1.5
Settlement House	(189) -16.8	(154) -15.4	+ 1.4
Voluntary Association	(164) -17.1	(179) -15.3	+ 1.8

others and as such should rely more on high intensity, initiative, and focus mechanisms. What we think Table 17-9 reflects is this fact plus the additional one that the distance is getting so great that the modest form of the mechanisms used by the school cannot reach these families as well as they should.

The Negro sub-group which does not respond positively to any of the mechanisms is the one where the child is rated as having superior behavior in school but as reading below the norms. It may be that because of their good behavior these children are not coming to the attention of teachers or parents. If they were, they might be readily helped because the parents are fundamentally in sympathy with the school and in conjunction with the school could bring the child (at this young age) into proper alignment with school goals. Since the children behave well in the school, they are less likely to be viewed as problems and hence the focus of change efforts.

Let us now turn to the last major group--the inner city white families. Their attitude toward the school may not be as favorable as that of the Negro family. Not subject to massive prejudice, white families who are very interested in education may tend to leave the neighborhood and avoid contact with the inner city school. Unlike the Negro family, the white inner city family cannot justify its position in disadvantaged neighborhoods in terms of oppressive prejudice. Under these circumstances, we ought not expect the inner city white families to be amenable to change by any but the most powerful linking mechanisms.

We look first at the sub-group of inner city white families which we have labeled as being closest to the school; families with children who have minimal problems in school (e.g., above average reading and superior behavior ratings). If we examine Table 17-10, we find their pattern resembles that of the most distant outer city white or inner city Negro family. None of the mechanisms of linkage seem to produce any positive results. The better readers are in inner city white families that tend to have fewer school contacts. Despite their generally favorable educational situation, they maintain distance from their local schools.4/

When we examine inner city white families at a moderate social distance from the schools, they show a pattern much like that of the Negro and outer city white families in the same classification (see Table 17-11). For the children who were long term good readers but current behavior problems, the mechanisms which relate positively to reading achievement are formal authority, voluntary association, and settlement house. The number of

Table 17-10

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Inner City White Families that Are "Closest" to the School (Children Above Average Readers in the Fourth Grade and Rated Positively in School Behavior)

Linking Mechanisms	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
Detached Worker	(28) + 1.7	(12) - 4.5	- 6.2
Formal Authority	(25) + 1.3	(15) - 2.5	- 3.8
Settlement House	(24) + 1.5	(16) - 2.6	- 4.1
Voluntary Association	(17) + 1.3	(23) - 1.2	- 2.5

Table 17-11

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact
Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Inner City White
Families at Moderate Social Distance from the School
(Child Above Average Reader in the Fourth Grade
but Rated Negatively on Behavior)

Linking Mechanisms	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
Detached Worker	(18) - 0.5	(4) - 8.7	- 8.2
Formal Authority	(12) - 5.4	(10) + 2.0	+ 7.4
Settlement House	(19) - 3.7	(3) + 8.3	+12.0
Voluntary Association	(15) - 3.2	(7) + 0.4	+ 3.6

cases is small and the data are presented with reservations. With this caution, we are interested to see that the pattern so closely resembles that of the inner city Negro and outer city white families. If this finding were valid it would suggest, as we have indicated earlier, that the well motivated white family in the inner city is most likely to come into the school when his child is in trouble. When his child is not in trouble, he is likely to avoid the school.

Let us now look at the extremely deviant families, those with children who are both long term reading problems and current behavior problems (see lower half of Table 17-12). Their pattern is remarkably similar to that of inner city white families of opposite characteristics, i.e., good readers and positive behavior. High contact through all mechanisms is negatively related to reading achievement. In other words, inner city white families who have children who are doing most poorly in school seem to follow the same strategy of avoiding school contacts as those whose children are doing best.

Finally, the upper half of Table 17-12 shows that the group of inner city families with children who are reading problems but not behavior problems shows a pattern similar to that of the families who are moderately distant (i.e., a combination of detached worker with settlement house leads to positive gains in reading skills).

In summary, we find that the inner city white family has a pattern very different from the outer city white and the inner city Negro. The groups least likely to benefit from contact are the extremes: those families who have children doing very well and those who have children doing very badly. The families most likely to benefit from contact are those that have children who are classified as intermediate--good on reading but poor on behavior, or poor on behavior but good on reading. We tend to see the differential reaction of inner city white and inner city Negro families as a function of prejudice. Less subject to prejudice, the inner city white family really interested in education is encouraged in the present social system to isolate himself and move from the inner city. The inner city white family who doesn't believe in education will also isolate himself though, of course, for different reasons. By contrast, the inner city white who believes in education but whose child is having trouble in school finds it useful to come into contact with the school if he remains in the neighborhood. Thus, because of the norms of prejudice and neighborhood context, the same family types have different definitions of social distance, depending on race.

Table 17-12

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact Through Selected Linking Mechanisms for Inner City White Families Who Are Most Distant from Schools (Children Were Below Average Readers in Fourth Grade), by School Behavior Rating

Linking Mechanisms	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
	Positive Behavior		
Detached Worker	(66) - 9.1	(36) - 7.9	+ 1.2
Formal Authority	(65) - 7.4	(37) -11.0	- 3.6
Settlement House	(72) - 8.9	(30) - 8.5	+ 0.4
Voluntary Association	(49) -10.6	(53) - 6.9	+ 3.7
	Negative Behavior		
Detached Worker	(70) -12.3	(75) -15.8	- 3.5
Formal Authority	(58) -12.0	(87) -15.3	- 3.3
Settlement House	(102) -13.0	(43) -16.3	- 3.3
Voluntary Association	(87) -14.0	(58) -14.1	- 0.1

Because this discussion has been necessarily quite involved, it is useful here to indicate the basic meaning of the analysis. For the inner city Negro and for the outer city white, the findings fit reasonably with our balance and linkage theory. The outer city white families with children who were superior in school could rely on basically passive, moderate intensity and focused mechanisms to maximize the reading achievement of their children. Families at a moderate social distance from the school had children who did best with higher intensity and higher initiative mechanisms as well as the more passive ones. Outer city families most distant from the schools could not be reached at all with the weak linking mechanisms available. The entire inner city Negro group was socially more distant than the outer city whites. Therefore, even those Negro families closest to the school were affected only when mechanisms of high initiative were used in combination with passive, moderate intensity, and moderate focused mechanisms. To reach Negro families of moderate distance, high initiative mechanisms combined with those of high intensity, high focused, and passive ones were required. The most distant families could not be reached effectively by any of the linking mechanisms available to the schools.

Difficulties arise when we try to interpret the behavior of the inner city white families. To retain the logic of the balance theory, we had to argue that the white families living in the inner city who are interested in education and who have children who are superior students will tend to avoid school contacts. Therefore, they are as difficult to reach as the white families who are alienated from education in the inner city. As a consequence, the linking mechanisms used by the schools are generally not able to get at either extreme category of inner city white families. Perhaps we should say that the inner city schools do not use their most powerful linking mechanisms on families whose children are doing well , and with children who are in real trouble, even their most powerful mechanisms are not sufficiently strong to bridge the gap to the families. The only families reached are those at some moderate distance--their children are in trouble but either it is a short term behavior problem or it is a long term reading problem and the child is interested in education. Under such circumstance of moderate distance, the inner city white family can be reached by mechanisms which have some intensity, focus, and initiative.

We are not saying that the inner city white families are impervious. As we pointed out in earlier chapters on the neighborhood, it does seem to be true that the more integrated the family becomes into a low achievement normed neighborhood, the poorer the child does.5/

Family Controlled Linking Mechanisms and Reading Achievement

The analysis of the opinion leader mechanism permits us to tie the earlier analysis of the effects of neighborhood achievement norms to the present analysis of linking mechanisms. In addition, we can look at a linking mechanism which depends almost completely on the initiative of the family.6/ Such a mechanism differs in its import from those over which the formal organization has greater control. For instance, several studies of leadership have suggested that leaders frequently uphold tradition rather than change.(43) This suggests that families in our sample who spoke to opinion leaders in the low achievement areas were likely to receive educationally negative rather than positive influence.

The item we used to measure opinion leadership assumed two things: first, that respondents would talk with a neighbor about educational matters; second, that the respondent was sufficiently integrated into the neighborhood to have someone to talk to. We have already pointed out that those integrated into neighborhoods tend to be influenced by the achievement norm of the neighborhood.

Let us now suggest how an extremely passive mechanism like the opinion leader approach may reinforce group norms. In the analysis we classify the schools so that they roughly approximate the achievement normed neighborhoods by separating project and non-project schools while retaining the inner and outer city divisions. In Table 17-13 we see how the opinion leader mechanisms reinforce influences observed in our earlier analysis of neighborhood structural effects. In the project schools--the low achievement neighborhoods--we find that in four out of four instances contact with an opinion leader leads to lower not higher reading scores. In the non-project schools (higher achievement normed neighborhoods) contacting an opinion leader increases reading scores in three out of four instances. In the outer city schools which have the highest achievement norm, to talk about school problems with an opinion leader has a positive effect on reading skills in two out of two instances.

In the discussion of the underlying dimensions of communication which determine the effectiveness of a given linking mechanism, we pointed out the role of organizational initiative for overcoming problems of selective listening and selective interpretation. With the analysis of the opinion leader mechanisms, we illustrate how a passive mechanism reinforces neighborhood norms. We suggest that the findings can be interpreted as an indication that opinion leaders in low achievement normed neighborhoods either screen out the messages sent by the school or reinterpret

Table 17-13

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact Through the Opinion Leader Mechanism by Race, Education, and Neighborhood Achievement Normed Status (as Defined by Project Status)

		Negro			White		
Neighborhood	Education	Low Contact	High Contact	Diff.	Low Contact	High Contact	Diff.
				Inner City			
Low Achievement Neighborhood (Project	Low	(66) -15.4	(92) -17.1	-1.7	(67) -11.7	(47) -13.2	-1.5
	High	(17) - 7.5	(34) -13.4	-5.9	(7) - 7.6	(10) -14.4	-6.8
	Total	(83) -13.8	(126) -16.1	-2.3	(74) -11.3	(57) -13.4	-2.1
Moderate Achievement Neighborhood (Non-Project)	Low	(154) -13.9	(171) -13.2	+0.7	(105) - 9.4	(85) - 8.8	+0.6
	High	(35) -11.3	(91) - 7.8	+3.5	(15) - 1.0	(21) - 5.5	-4.5
	Total	(189) -13.4	(262) -11.3	+2.1	(120) - 8.3	(106) - 8.1	+0.2
				Outer City			
High Achievement Neighborhood (Non-Project)	Low	(0) --	(0) --	--	(71) - 2.8	(123) - 1.9	+0.9
	High	(0) --	(0) --	--	(77) + 4.6	(242) + 6.6	+2.0
	Total	(0) --	(0) --	--	(148) + 1.1	(365) + 3.7	+2.6

them, therefore leading to negative rather than positive results. At the same time the analysis provides a more explicit statement of one way the neighborhoods may enforce their educational achievement norms.

The problem becomes more complex when dealing with a mechanism such as mass media. This mechanism is partly controlled by the family but not to the same effect as the opinion leader mechanism. Studies of mass media suggest that they are generally linked with opinion leadership in a two-step flow of information.(43) Thus, opinion leaders selectively block out or reinterpret messages sent through mass media. Our own analysis is further limited by the fact that we have an inadequate measure of mass media on which the distribution is so skewed that we cannot see how the mechanism works under a variety of situations. We cannot say how much it is guided by the social systems of the neighborhood and how much by the school. If we examine Table 17-14 we can see that mass media is generally more negatively related to reading scores among inner city families than outer city families. It is generally more negatively related in low achievement areas (project schools) than high achievement areas (non-project schools). This would be consistent with the idea that a passive low intensity, low focus mechanism cannot be used as effectively with families who are distant from the schools as with those who are closer. We should note, however, that Negro families do not use this mechanism more effectively than white families which we would have expected since the Negroes are closer to the schools. However, viewed as a reflection of neighborhood achievement norms, it parallels the results of the opinion leader mechanisms. Though we do not have data to support the interpretation, we suspect that people may view announcements they read in the paper, or notices left various places like the grocery, beauty shop, etc., through the eyes of opinion leaders and in the context of the neighborhood milieu. In low achievement neighborhoods the opinion leaders may have a negative interpretation and the opposite may be the case in high achievement areas. This interaction is consistent with contemporary studies of mass media and we think well worth exploring.

An additional problem from a skewed distribution shows up clearly with the common messenger mechanism. The item we used asked how often respondents received notes from school and the response categories were "never," "a few times a year or less," "once or twice a month," "once or twice a week," or "almost every day." Most of the respondents fell in the category "once or twice a month." When we dichotomized the responses (including the modal response with the positive group), we found only 20 per cent of our respondents in the negative group. The dichotomy seems reasonable in terms of what actually happens in school and it also yields

Table 17-14

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact Through Mass Media, by Race, Neighborhood Achievement Normed Status (as Defined by Project Status)

			Mass Media		
	Race	Neighborhood Project Status	Low Contact	High Contact	Difference
INNER CITY	Negro	Project-Low Achievement Neighborhood	-14.0 (125)	-16.9 (84)	- 2.9
		Non-Project Moderate Achievement Neighborhood	-12.0 (413)	-13.9 (38)	- 1.9
	White	Project-Low Achievement Neighborhood	-11.3 (74)	-13.4 (57)	- 2.1
		Non-Project Moderate Achievement Neighborhood	- 8.2 (211)	- 8.9 (15)	- 0.7
	White	Outer City Non-Project High Achievement Neighborhood	+ 2.7 (358)	+ 3.5 (155)	+ 0.8

consistent results when we examine who uses this mechanism. However, some methodological problems arise when we seek to measure the effectiveness of this mechanism. An issue which has been with us throughout this analysis becomes explicit: how can we separate the effects of given mechanisms from each other? It would be desirable to investigate the effects of all mechanisms simultaneously, but we have not chosen to make this type of analysis at this point because we felt the first step should be to look at the contingency factors which influence the effectiveness of each separate mechanism. The present chapter is in part testimony to the kinds of interactions which must be taken into account in any simultaneous analysis of all linking mechanisms. We hope later (when we better understand some of the contingencies) to proceed with this more complex analysis. At the present time we are making the assumption that the zero order relationships of these mechanisms under complex controls will give us some basis for assessing their character. However, this assumption is particularly difficult to accept with regard to the common messenger mechanism. Finding such a small proportion of families not using this mechanism, we are forced to consider more generally who such people are. They are probably individuals who are extremely isolated from the school. Viewed this way, we are dealing with the problem of frequency as before but looking at the negative end of the continum.

With this mechanism so widely used (80 per cent of the population in our sample used it), it may be one that precedes the use of other mechanisms. This may be especially the case in the inner city where families interested in education tend to use the whole range of mechanisms, apparently seeking all possible links. In the outer city this is less the case; families very close to the school tend to use few mechanisms. Because of these considerations, we feel that we cannot really study the effect of the common messenger until we take it in conjunction with other mechanisms. If we look at Table 17-15, we can see that more contact through the common messenger mechanism tends to have a positive relationship among inner city respondents and a negative relationship among the outer city families.7/

Before ending this discussion, we point out that it might be argued that we have evidence here which contradicts our linkage theory. If we view the common messenger approach as being a passive, low intensity approach, we would have expected it to have a positive relationship in the outer city (e.g., like the voluntary association). Without a more complex analysis than we are able to make, we find it difficult to interpret the data with confidence.

Table 17-15

Reading Achievement by Frequency of School-Family Contact Through Common Messenger Mechanism, by Race and Neighborhood Achievement Norm (Defined by Project Status)

	Race	Neighborhood Achievement	Common Messenger Contact		Difference
			Low	High	
INNER CITY	Negro	Low Achievement (Project)	-17.0 (31)	-14.8 (178)	+ 2.2
		Moderate Achievement (Non-Project)	-13.0 (103)	-12.0 (348)	+ 1.0
	White	Low Achievement Project	-10.5 (24)	-12.5 (107)	- 2.0
		Moderate Achievement (Non-Project)	- 9.7 (31)	- 7.9 (195)	+ 1.8
	White	Outer City High Achievement (Non-Project)	+ 4.3 (116)	+ 2.5 (397)	- 1.8

Summary

In summary, let us locate these findings within the framework of the total chapter and provide a brief account of what has been said up to now.

The first point made was that the groups closest to the schools tend to have a more positive association between contacts and the child's achievement. Thus, inner city whites showed a lower association than outer city whites or inner city Negroes; project schools (in low achievement neighborhoods) showed a lower association than non-project schools; and low educated families had a lower association than high educated people, except for the inner city white families who, we have argued on a different basis, are also socially distant from their local schools. We saw these findings as consistent with balance theory if we make the following assertions: (1) the linking mechanisms used by the schools were not strong enough to reach extremely distant populations; (2) we had extremely distant populations; and (3) we did not have schools with substantial numbers of parents who were providing an overpush. In the earlier chapters we sought to document assertions (1) and (2). In the present chapter we provided modest evidence for number (3).

To check this analysis and to deal with the "squeaky wheel" problem, we separated families on the basis of the school problems of their children, classifying the children in terms of whether they showed earlier reading problems (fourth grade achievement below the norm or above) and whether they were currently rated by teachers as behavior problems. Using this classification, we were able to show that the closer the family was to the school (the smaller the magnitude of the child's problem), the more positive the association between use of the linking mechanisms and achievement. In addition, we were able to show with these more precise definitions the beginning of the curvilinear relationship we would expect if a mild overpush were operating. Thus, families in the outer city who were extremely close to the school reached a point where increased contact did not benefit them.

As an additional test of the balance theory, we then divided the total school-community contacts into their component parts by use of the various linking mechanisms. When we looked at the group closest to the schools--the outer city whites--they tended to use mechanisms which had low initiative and moderate intensity to support reading skills. When we looked at a group which was more distant, but still not extreme (the inner city Negro), we found that they tended to use mechanisms which required more school initiative and intensity. When we looked at the families most distant of all (inner city whites), there was a curvilinear relationship with the families who had children without problems and those having children with severe problems both showing a negative association between use of mechanisms and reading skills. We felt this to be consistent with our previous interpretation of social distance for the white inner city families where those interested in education may seek to isolate themselves from their local schools.

Finally, we examined the opinion leader mechanism which is almost under complete control of community primary groups. We showed that this mechanism operated to enforce the neighborhood milieu since, where the milieu was negative toward the school, then using an opinion leader led to negative results and where the milieu was positive then using an opinion leader had a positive result. We suggested, though we did not have the data to investigate the idea, that the mass media might also be strongly affected by the neighborhood milieu since it was a very passive mechanism also. We pointed out that other studies have suggested that opinion leaders tend to reinterpret or systematically block messages from mass media so as to conform with group standards.

A central implication of the above findings is that the achievement of educational goals of the school can be maximized by the use of mechanisms with high intensity, high initiative, and high focus where the families are socially distant, whereas more passive, moderate intensity, and moderate focus linking procedures may be used where the families are closer. There was one evident exception to this pattern--the common messenger approach whose use tended to relate to reading achievement like a high initiative, high intensity mechanism when we would have predicted the opposite.

When we consider the evidence offered in this chapter and the preceding ones, we very strongly feel that it is sufficient to warrant further explorations of the underlying theory. However, we do not deceive ourselves by believing the evidence definitive. Rather, we feel that this initial effort has allowed us to see in clearer fashion the nature of problems that must be dealt with in future research. We think there must be more adequate measures of the underlying dimensions of the linking mechanisms (e.g., intensity, initiative, focus). We think there must be a deliberate selection of a sample, or the development of experimental schools, so that there will be some schools with extremely powerful linking mechanisms and also some schools with considerable overpush. The latter may be provided by a better stratification of a sample similar to ours. However, the former problem will require a far reaching search or the development of a massive field experiment. In addition, much larger samples are needed than the one we worked with. We had more information than we could use with the small size of our sample, even though it is larger than usually found in similar studies. For instance, our theory speaks of all possible combinations of linking mechanisms and much finer distinctions of family and neighborhood than we were able to use in our final presentation of evidence. We were frequently prevented from a more complex analysis because we did not have a large enough sample to introduce so many factors simultaneously. In our original design we hoped that an overall prediction table could be set up which would enable us to combine all elements by a weighting procedure. However, we found no adequate way of assigning weights for the outer city white, inner city white, and Negro families and for neighborhoods. Nor did we find any way to adjust for the different ways different schools used the supposedly same mechanism. We believe these problems can be solved in time, but we also think that in the initial stages of research a sufficiently large sample should be at hand so the investigator can look at the relationships separately. Finally, the issue of the "squeaky wheel" has to be dealt with in more detailed fashion than we were able to. This means either a time series study or one which can get more precise measures of children's problems at any given time.

With all the ambiguities and assumptions, we believe the pattern of evidence tends to support the balance theory sufficiently to merit the kind of elaborations we are suggesting in future research.

Chapter 17

Footnotes

1. Put somewhat differently, it would be erroneous for the school staff in areas which have middle class professional parents highly involved in education of their children to apply conclusions regarding the effects of contact from this study to their own circumstances. Increasing contact in their situation may lead to considerable trouble.

2. It was to fill the theoretical cell with strongest school efforts we included in our sample the Great Cities Project schools which at that time were the schools having the strongest links of any in the inner city.

3. One of the interesting sidelights of this point is that until very recently the chief danger to a principal's career was some behavior scandal in his school, e.g., teacher beating a child, children beating a teacher, children beating each other, etc. It was only very recently in Detroit that it was made clear that a principal could be fired for not improving the educational level of the children. In this case and several others throughout the country, schools have been boycotted and picketed by parents and children because they said the education was inadequate. It should be clear that the principal in question did not by his actions lower the level of education. He was doing what his predecessor and most other principals in the inner city schools were doing, and that was precisely the objection to him because the inner city schools were approximately two or more years below the national norm. The historical importance of this incident in Detroit was that in effect all principals were put on public notice that maintaining a scandal-free school was no longer a sufficient guarantee of success. In addition, they have to demonstrate ability to raise the educational level of the children--not just maintain the status quo.

4. Having made this basic point, it is of some interest to look at the pattern of differences and to note that insofar as the mechanisms do operate it tends to be in the pattern of the outer city whites. Granted all of the mechanisms do poorly, the one which does best of all is the voluntary association.

5. We do not feel this is inevitably true. There is no reason in principle why even the lowest achievement normed neighborhood

cannot be shored up to produce a positive educational effect. However, such neighborhoods left to their own devices will have a negative effect.

6. We do not feel that opinion leader mechanisms are invariably dominated by the community primary groups, but in most instances in our current society where the organization is not generally cognizant of their role or does not have easy access to them, they are effectively controlled by community primary groups.

7. We have not presented the results classified by extent of school problem of the child because in the inner city four of the eight possible combinations contain six cases or fewer. The remaining cases suggest the same findings as reported. For the outer city there are enough cases to reveal a curvilinear relationship. The mechanism tends to be positively associated with reading skills where the child has a behavior problem but not a long term reading problem. Otherwise it is negatively related to reading skills.

Chapter 18

The School as a Bureaucratic Organization--
A Third Test of the Balance Hypotheses

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and edited and reorganized for this book by the authors*

Our analysis up to now has concentrated mostly on the community primary groups. Yet our balance theory suggests that it is both community primary groups and bureaucratic organizations which must be taken into account if we are to understand how goals are best reached.

At this point we turn our attention to the bureaucratic structure of the school to see how it in turn is linked to the balance process. We shall not go into the detail in our analysis of organizational properties of the schools that we did in analyzing community primary groups because we do not have the time or resources. Brevity in this instance is not an index of insignificance but rather an acknowledgement of the need to introduce an important topic even though we have only begun to scratch the surface.

If one considers the implicit idea of administrative styles (or of bureaucratic organization) of the schools, there are two major polar types. They reflect two differing philosophies of education. They are also reflected polar positions in the general discussions of bureaucratic organization until very recently. Once we have described these structures we should like to take two basic tacks. First, we should like to argue that the very atmospheres of an organization can be closer or farther from the primary group and as such the administrative style can be viewed as a linking mechanism. Second, we should like to argue that the dimensions of the organizations by their very nature put certain restraints on the kind of linking mechanisms the organization might use.

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* The findings in this chapter were taken from the Ph.D. thesis of David Hollister (35). However, we have organized some of it differently and we have given some interpretations to the material which he may or may not be in agreement with. However, all the findings and data analysis are his. The material he used for his analysis was based on our survey of teachers in our eighteen schools with the understanding it would be made available to this project.

With this framework in mind let us restate in very exaggerated form two different philosophies of education. The first we shall call the "three R's" approach and it implies

> "that the educational process consists basically of fairly uniform tasks. It assumes that children have fixed IQ's and that ways of motivating them are standard. Drill with predetermined materials is the pedagogical task, and standardized examinations assess academic achievement. Non-pedagogical tasks of the teacher and of the complement of school personnel fall into comparable uniform patterns.
>
> In contrast, the "progressive education" approach argues that the chief problem is motivation and hence is highly individualized. In order to learn, the child must tie his individual experiences to the learning situation, which in turn must be tailored to each child. Hence, teaching styles and materials must be highly flexible to meet varied and changing abilities. No single standard of achievement is meaningful: motivation and growth cannot be reduced to common scores."(61)

These two positions, though grossly exaggerated, tend to serve as polar guide lines with given school systems moving in one direction or the other. What is sometimes overlooked is that these philosophies of education have a very direct organizational counterpart.

The "3 R's" approach tends to be consistent with what we shall call a rationalistic bureaucratic organization, what Weber calls a monocratic bureaucracy, and what others have called rules oriented bureaucracies. To many social scientists this type of organization is what we mean by bureaucracy. More specifically, it consists of the following dimensions of organization:

1. Hierarchical authority
2. Heavy emphasis on use of rules
3. Impersonal social relationships
4. Specialization

5. A priori definition of duties and privileges
6. Appointment and job evaluation on the basis of merit--usually by how closely people have adhered to the rules of the organization

This is the type of a school where it is quite clear that the principal is the boss. Everything that is not covered by rules must be passed on by him. Most things are covered by rules and regulations which are enforced. Rules may cover such trivial items as the supplies a teacher can draw from the general school stores, specifying a given day and a given hour on that day, to a rule strictly enforced that all teachers have lesson plans for each day which are submitted at the beginning of each week. Relationships between principal and teachers as well as among teachers is always kept businesslike with informality discouraged. Stress is put on a teacher's special area of competence, e.g., first grade, second grade, music, etc. Teachers are evaluated on objective criteria such as (1) noise level of classroom, (2) cleanliness of room, (3) orderliness of children under their administration, and (4) insuring all academic material is covered (assuming all children who did not absorb it lack ability).

The "progressive" education approach is consistent with what we shall call the collegial type of bureaucracy. Others have used the name goal oriented or human relations. In sharp contrast to the rationalistic one the following dimensions of organization are stressed:

1. Collegial authority rather than hierarchical authority
2. Internalization of goals rather than rules
3. Emphasis on personal rather than impersonal relationships
4. Generalization rather than specialization
5. Less emphasis on a priori definition of duties and privileges
6. Appointment and job evaluation on the basis of merit--usually based on outcome rather than adherence to rules

In this administrative style the principal acts more in the capacity of chairman of the meeting than as the boss. There are department meetings where the teachers and principal jointly decide on policy. There are no detailed rules and if they are technically "on the books" they are not enforced. Thus, the general supply room is left open to be used by the teachers as they see fit. It is assumed that they understand the policy well enough to know what is proper and what is not. In such schools the emphasis is on developing "high morale." The staff is to be "one happy family." There is a tendency to view teachers as generalists rather than specialists. Thus, programs which suggest that a teacher should remain with the same group of children over a two or three year period are viewed as appropriate. For it is assumed that a teacher should be able to deal with all grades in the elementary school rather than developing a specialty, the first, second, or third. In such a school it is difficult to set down a priori what the duties and privileges of the teacher might be. Such a philosophy leaves the teacher free to take the children out on community visits, to bring in lecturers, to shift content and hours around to meet the particular idiosyncratic needs of children and current interests. There are no standard lesson plans, there are no standard texts, and in extreme there are no standard courses which must be taught. Such teachers are eventually evaluated on the basis of what the child learns, e.g., is he a good reader, does he have an educational orientation, etc.

We have obviously painted two extremes, not because we feel they characterize any given school in our study, or because we feel they are ideal models of what the school should be.1/ Rather, they represent poles between which the schools can fluctuate. This is very important in the present context because the collegial type of organization is structurally closer to the community primary group than the rationalistic type. Thus, like family and neighborhood primary groups, the collegial bureaucracy stresses personal rather than impersonal relations, diffused rather than specialized relationships, affective rather than impartial relationships. Unlike the family, they are more likely to stress instrumental merit factors in evaluation and their memberships are not permanent.2/ Even with these qualifications the central point is that they are closer to the community primary groups than the rationalistic structure. The fact that the teacher feels the student is unique and that education involves the total community not only legitimates the inclusion of the family in the teaching process but provides a frame for looking at things that parallel elements in the families. The fact that there is less stress on hierarchical authority and detailed rules governing interaction means that parent-teacher contact can be carried on with emphasis on the mode of neighboring relationships rather than strict professional ones.

In short, we are arguing that the more the administrative-style of the school moves in the direction of the human relations model, the more likely it is to close distance between itself and the community. The more the school utilizes a rationalistic administrative style, the more it will open distance between itself and the community. The basic premise underlying the above analysis is that where we find greater consistency in structure between bureaucratic and primary groups, it will be easier for interchange to take place between them.

Let us now turn to the empirical evidence. In each of our 18 schools we gave questionnaires to all regular staff members. (Special personnel such as visiting teachers, school nurses, community agents, etc., were excluded.) There were from 18 to 56 teachers in each building. Our major problem in developing empirical definitions of administrative styles is that, though we have 525 teachers, we have only 18 schools. We thus have much information for a few cases. Because of this, we will not elaborate any complex typology of organization but use somewhat crude single dimension notions of organizations to see what, if anything, might be gained from this more primitive analysis.

With this in mind, let us look at the items used to construct the rationalistic-collegial continuum. In order to measure the degree of hierarchical authority structure in the schools, the following two items were used:

"In this building, how much responsibility do *committees of teachers* have in making decisions about tasks that have to be done? (Check one)

a great deal	some	little	very little

> "To what extent does each of the following describe the purpose of faculty meetings in your building when they are held?"
>
> a. So faculty can make major policy decisions for building?

Generally the purpose	Sometimes the purpose	Seldom the purpose	Never the purpose

Schools were ranked on the first item by the percentage of teachers who answered "a great deal." They were ranked on the second item by the percentage of teachers who said "Generally the purpose."

In order to get a composite measure of rules orientations, specializations, and *a priori* definition of duties, we asked the teacher the following question:

"There are two philosophies about the extent to which teachers should be encouraged to develop their own teaching approaches rather than to follow well-tried approaches that have been adopted by the school. Some systems emphasize one, some the other, and some combine them.

PHILOSOPHIES OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

A. Teacher Experimentation--the major decisions about teaching should be handled by the teachers; they should select their own classroom materials, decide on lesson plans, devise their own grading systems, etc., on the basis of their views of the needs of students in their own classes.

B. Accumulated Experience--to maintain proper standards throughout a school system, the great knowledge accumulated from past experience should be used to establish specific rules and requirements with respect to selection of textbooks and other materials, lesson content, grading system, etc.

C. Both philosophies, but A emphasized more than B (experimentation more than experience).

D. Both philosophies, but B emphasized more than A (experience more than experimentation).

Which philosophy comes closest to the one you now use?

A. Teacher Experimentation	B. Accumulated experience	C. Experimentation more than experience	D. Experience more than experimentation

Schools were ranked according to the percentage of teachers in each school indicating either "B" or "D".

Finally, to get some measure of impersonality we used two items, one of which measured the teachers' relations to the principal and one which measured their relationship to the assistant principal. The following set of items was asked of the relationship with the principal:

"In some buildings, relationships between teachers and principals tend to be very informal, whereas in others they tend to be mainly businesslike and formal. Of course, the particular individuals involved make a difference, but generally speaking, in your building when teachers and the principal are involved in handling of each of the following things, do they tend to handle them more informally or more on a businesslike and formal basis?" (Check your answer for each item.)

	How Things Are Handled in Your Building			
Things Handled by Teachers and Principal	Very Informal	Informal	Business-like and formal	Very Business-like and formal
a. Deciding what content is to be taught				
b. Preparing and getting materials ready for teaching				
c. Selecting textbooks and teaching materials				
d. Getting needed school supplies and equipment (e.g., maps, projectors, etc.)				
e. Deciding on pupil promotions and failures				
f. Determining class schedules				
g. Controlling classroom order and noise				
h. Dealing with serious behavior problems (e.g., fighting, disobedience, temper tantrums, etc.)				
i. Evaluating effectiveness of teachers				

For each of the tasks the percentage of teachers in each school indicating either "businesslike and formal" or "very businesslike and formal" was determined. These percentages were then summed for each school for all tasks. The sums were in turn ranked.

The following question was asked of the assistant principal

-teacher relationships:

> "In general, what would you say was the tendency in your particular building with respect to relationships between teachers and assistant principal? Do they tend to be informal or businesslike and formal?" (Check one)

____ very informal	____ quite informal	____ informal
____ businesslike and formal	____ quite businesslike and formal	____ very businesslike and formal

Schools were ranked according to the percentage of teachers in each school indicating any of the last three options.

In Table 18-1, we show the overall rankings of each of the five items plus their overall average ranking. We dichotomized the average rankings at the mid-point to arrive at an index of rationalistic and collegial administrative styles in the schools. An inspection of Table 18-1 indicates that this dichotomization would have the same general results if we used any given item within the index. For any given item there would be no more than four of the 18 schools misplaced if we used it rather than the overall index. We do not feel that these differences necessarily reflect errors in measurement. For there is no reason why these particular dimensions need be highly correlated. For instance, it is conceivable that a highly authoritarian principal might seek to encourage experimentation. This kind of authoritarian drive might be self-defeating in the long run. However, in the short run where the teachers are very resistant to any form of change, the use of centralized authority and even threat to get them to take the first steps might prove valuable. Similarly it is not inconsistent to have centralized authority with little emphasis on rules. This would be the authoritarian regime governed by personal caprice of its head. In other words, the dimensions of organization suggested by Weber can vary in many ways aside from the two general classifications we have suggested above. As a consequence, there are two points to emphasize: first, the fact that so many of our organizations have roughly the same classification is not an artifact of logic but an empirical finding. Second, the lack of relationship between items in our index are not necessarily measurement errors but may well reflect important differences in administrative styles. Because we have only 18 schools to work with, we shall not go into a complex typology of organizations but rather stick with this primitive dichotomy. For the simple analysis we will do, the errors in classification will not be crucial.

Table 18-1

Schools' Ratings on Index of Collegial-Rationalistic Mode of Control, and Schools' Ranks on Five Index Components

School Code*	Teacher Experimentation	Faculty Sets Policy	Teacher Committee Responsibility	Teacher-Principal Informality	Teacher-Asst. Principal Informality	Average of Ranks	Rating**
52 M	6.5	1.5	1.0	4	6.0	3.8	R
53 M	1.5	6.5	6.0	2	4.5	4.1	R
55 M	1.5	1.5	4.0	8	10.0	5.0	R
50 M	3.0	5.0	18.0	1	1.0	5.6	R
22 L	11.0	3.0	9.0	3	2.0	5.6	R
51 M	6.5	5.0	13.0	7	7.0	7.7	R
41 L	5.0	18.0	2.0	10	8.0	8.6	R
54 M	4.0	10.5	7.0	15	17.0	8.7	R
21 L	16.5	8.0	8.0	9	3.0	8.9	R
31 L	14.0	14.0	5.0	6	9.0	9.6	C
30 G	9.0	10.5	3.0	18	12.0	10.5	C
11 L	10.0	15.5	10.0	5	14.0	10.9	C
32 L	12.0	12.5	12.0	17	11.0	10.9	C
40 G	15.0	4.0	11.0	13	13.0	11.2	C
42 L	16.5	12.5	17.0	16	4.5	13.3	C
20 G	18.0	9.0	16.0	12	15.0	14.0	C
10 G	13.0	15.5	14.0	11	17.0	14.1	C
12 L	8.0	17.0	15.0	14	17.0	14.2	C

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[*] The number indicates the school. "M" indicates outer city schools, "G" indicates inner city project schools, and "L" indicates inner city non-project schools.

[**] R indicates mode of control is relatively rationalistic; C indicates mode of control is relatively collegial.

Accepting this operational definition of administrative style, we now turn to its relationship to school community contacts. In terms of our prior analysis we know that the middle class schools in our sample had the communities which were closest to the schools. More specifically, they had parents who were most likely to take the initiative in coming into the school. The dangers of the middle class schools were that of too closeness while the dangers of the inner city schools were too much distance. We are, of course, speaking relatively since we did not include within our sample schools with extreme forms of overpushing parents.

If we can make the assumption that the balance theory of coordination is a valid principle and that schools are interested in effective teaching, we should anticipate that in the outer city schools should have more rationalistic administrative styles than in the inner city. The rationalistic administrative style establishes a milieu that keeps parent-teacher contacts at greater distance. We can see from Table 18-1 that all six of the middle class schools are listed as rationalistic ones. In Table 18-1 and all following tables in this chapter, each school is designated by a number and a letter. The "M" next to the number indicates the school is a middle class outer city school. The "G" next to the number indicates that the school was a part of the inner city Great Cities School Improvement Project. These are the experimental schools in our sample. The letter "L" indicates the lower class inner city schools. In Table 18-1 it can be seen that all schools with an "M" also have an "R" which indicates a rationalistic school.

In order to further specify the tendency of schools to resort to a rationalistic style when confronted by a more aggressive community, we shall use as an index of community initiative the item on the family questionnaire which asks mothers if they have ever initiated contact with the schools. For each school area the percentage of families saying they had initiated one or more contacts was taken. The schools were then dichotomized into a high or low group at the median. If we examine Table 18-2, we can see that the rationalistic schools--as we anticipated--were much more likely to have communities who were high on initiative, while the collegial school had those which were low.

To explain these findings we need not assume a balance theory but only that organizations seek to maintain autonomy of decision making. For greater autonomy of decision making the organization would want to keep their personnel isolated from contacts with outside people. Where external people take the initiative, the rationalistic structure will tend to cut down the effective influence of their contact; where external people are at

Table 18-2

School Mode of Control and Index of Parent Initiation

School Mode of Control	Percentage of Families Who Have at Least Once Initiated Contact with the School			
	High		Low	
Rationalistic	22 L 41 L 51 M 52 M 53 M 54 M 55 M	7	21 L 50 M	2
Collegial	42 L	1	10 G 11 L 12 L 20 G 30 G 31 L 32 L 40 G	8

N = 18

Q = +.93*

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*In this and all other tables Kendall's "Q" is given as a measure of association.

some distance, the organization can operate in a less defensive manner without fear of community influence.

There is no necessary contradiction between the hypothesis of balance and that of organizational autonomy. However, in this particular case (e.g., with our highly selected sample), we think that demands of organizational effectiveness and balance are involved rather than simply the notion of an organization seeking to maintain its autonomy vis-a-vis the community. To clarify this issue as well as to elaborate the balance theory, it should be pointed out that both views would come to the same conclusion in the outer city. Both a balance theory of coordination and the notion of preserving organizational autonomy would argue for rationalistic structures in the middle class areas. However, these views would separate in the inner city where, if balance theory is operating, the organization should be actively seeking to close social distance whereas, if the preservation of organizational autonomy is the issue, the organization should not be seeking to close social distance.

So the question: what evidence, if any, is there that the organizations (the schools) in the inner city systematically seek to close social distance? Perhaps the most obvious evidence is the setting up of the fairly substantial experimental program in the inner city. Four of the schools were included in our sample. The guiding principle of that program was that distance between school and community must be closed if reading was to be improved in the low income areas. It is of some interest that this experimental program which started with seven schools has grown in one phase or another to over 50 inner city schools, with an eventual goal of 150.

In this regard it is of importance to note that the experimental schools all have collegial structures. Even among the inner city schools they are the most collegial with three of the four project schools in the most collegial half of the inner city schools (Table 18-1).

This same point can be made from a slightly different and independent perspective. We asked the teachers in the 18 schools which of the following modes of contact they preferred.

> "We have listed possible approaches to handling parent-teacher contacts. As you did in the last two questions, indicate the answer to each question by checking the appropriate approach."

APPROACHES TO PARENT-TEACHER CONTACTS

A. *Contact Mostly When Special Problems Arise*--such as misbehavior, bad grades, health, etc.

B. *Regular Scheduled Contact*--mainly in teacher-parent conferences, homeroom club meetings, etc.

C. *Frequent Visits to School*--frequent parent visits to school should be encouraged to discuss child's progress and behavior.

D. *Frequent Home Visits as Well as Visits to School*--teacher should make every effort to make home visits as well as encourage visits in school.

Which approach comes closest to what *you would prefer* to use in your present teaching situation?

______	______	______	______
A. Special Problems	B. Scheduled	C. Frequent in School	D. Frequent Home and School

Schools were ranked and dichotomized at the median according to the percentage of teachers' responses "C" or "D".

If the issue were simply one of developing organizational autonomy, the answer should be infrequent under all circumstances. However, in the low income areas, teacher in seven out of the twelve schools wanted more frequent visits as contrasted to the middle class areas where two out of six wanted such frequent visits. However, the reader should note that we do not think this was typical of schools in the inner city of Detroit since the teachers who most generally wanted more contact in the inner city were from the project schools.

If we use parents' responses rather than the inner and outer city school classification as a way of grouping communities that are close to the schools, we find an even stronger relationship between teachers' preferences and community closeness. Thus it can be seen that among the schools where parents take initiative, in six out of the eight instances the teachers prefer standardized forms of contact. However, where the parents do not take initiative in seven out of ten cases they opt for more varied forms of contact (Table 18-3). It is this latter finding which we think is important for distinguishing why it is we feel that we are dealing with a balance theory rather than just a

Table 18-3

Index of Parent Initiation and Teachers' Preferences Regarding Frequency of Parent Contact

	Teachers' Preferences Regarding Parent Contact			
Percentage Families Who Have at Least Once Initiated Contact with the School	Infrequent		Frequent	
High	22 L 41 L 42 L 51 M 52 M 55 M	6	53 M 54 M	2
Low	12 L 32 L 50 M	3	10 G 11 L 20 G 21 L 30 G 31 L 40 G	7

N = 18

Q = +.75

notion of an organization's attempt to preserve its decision making autonomy.

Finally, let us conclude this part of our discussion by indicating what the relationship is between rationalistic structures and teachers' preferences for contact. If it is true that the administrative style is one of the techniques used by the schools to control social distance to the outside world, then it should also be true that teachers in rationalistic schools should tend to prefer more standardized, formalistic modes, as well as less frequent types, of interaction while teachers in collegial structures should prefer more open as well as more frequent forms of contact. Table 18-4 indicates that this is the general trend.

The question might well be asked as to what came first. To what extent is the parent initiative brought about by the school's adopting a rationalistic procedure rather than vice versa, as we have suggested. We would think that it is indeed possible for parents to take the initiative because schools have put up barriers. Certainly there are some spectacular instances in low income areas where parents have had to take to the street to penetrate the formalistic armor of the school system. However, for our sample we feel this was not generally true even as it is not true today for most schools in the United States. In order to give some evidence for our assertion, we looked at two items which could be used to measure more general parental initiative with regard to other bureaucratic organizations. These were situations where the school administrative policy would play little role. The first item asked the parents the following:

> "Have you ever gotten in touch with city agencies about things like street cleaning, street repairs, garbage collecting, parks, recreational facilities, or other matters of this kind?"

If we look at the relationship we find that in eight out of eight instances those high on initiative live in areas where the schools are rationalistic, while in one of the 10 instances this was true of those with low initiative. (See Table 18-5). In short, the rationalistic schools seem to have within their boundaries a population which takes the initiative to many city bureaucracies other than the schools. As a consequence, the specific policy of the school is not as likely to have precipitated aggressive initiative on the part of the parents but more likely to be the school's reaction to the parents' initiative.

A more indirect measure of general parental aggressiveness is an item which asked the parents whether they voted in the last

Table 18-4

School Mode of Control and Teachers' Preferences Regarding Frequency of Contact with Parents

School Mode of Control	Teachers' Preferences Regarding Parent Contact: Infrequent		Frequent	
	22 L		21 L	
	41 L		53 M	
Rationalistic	50 M	6	54 M	3
	51 M			
	52 M			
	55 M			
	12 L		10 G	
	32 L		11 L	
Collegial	42 L	3	20 G	6
			30 G	
			31 L	
			40 G	

N = 18

Q = +.60

Table 18-5

School Mode of Control and Parents Who Have Taken the Initiative in Approaching City Agencies for Services

School Mode of Control	Percentage of Parents Who Contacted a City Agency			
	High		Low	
	21 L		22 L	
	41 L			
	50 M			
	51 M	8		1
Rationalistic	52 M			
	53 M			
	54 M			
	55 M			
			20 G	
			40 G	
			42 L	
		0	10 G	9
Collegial			11 L	
			12 L	
			30 G	
			31 L	
			32 L	

N = 18
Q = +1.00

election. We are making the assumption that those who vote are also those who are most likely to take the initiative in reaching into formal bureaucratic organizations if the occasion demands it. If we examine the voting statistics, we find (Table 18-6) that in seven out of nine instances where the parents were high on voting, they also lived in rationalistic school areas while this was true of only two of the nine cases where parents had low participation in voting.

Both of these last two items taken together suggest that the schools are reacting to parents rather than parents reacting to the schools. However, as we noted already, there is no reason in principle why it should not work the other way around. For our balance theory suggests that they are mutually dependent on each other. As soon as either partner of this relation realizes the other is not doing his share (the distance is too great), either one can take the initiative to correct the balance. Though we have not explored the problem here, we have in other places suggested that the strategies as to which mechanism to use to correct the balance might vary considerably depending on whether it is the bureaucracy which is seeking to redress distance or the community primary groups.(62)

We may sum up at this point. The administrative style of the school is itself something which is conducive or not conducive to closing social distance between school and community. An administrative style which stresses the rationalistic dimensions of organization suggested by Weber would be most antithetical to the community primary groups and as such maintain social distance. We are referring not only to frequency of contact but also to the quality of contact. Thus, to have a principal meet with parents at a large conference where there is little opportunity to talk with any given parent about his child is consistent with a rationalistic structure. One can have hundreds of such contacts and still not achieve much closure in social distance as compared to ten to twenty home visits between the teacher and a given parent. We are saying that rationalistic organizational structures tend to force contact into formalistic modes of interaction which maintain social distance while collegial structures have the opposite effect.

We have sought to test this hypothesis within the balance theory of coordination by pointing out that the schools which had the most aggressive parents tended to resort to formalistic administrative styles, whereas the schools which had the most distant parents tended to resort to the collegial styles. We argued that where we had clear evidence of school intent to close distance (such as the experimental schools), the structure the schools

Table 18-6

School Mode of Control and Parents Who Voted in the Election Prior to the Interview

School Mode of Control	Percentage Parents Who Voted in Previous Election			
	High		Low	
	22 L		21 L	
	41 L		52 M	
	50 M			
Rationalistic	51 M	7		2
	53 M			
	54 M			
	55 M			
	40 G		20 G	
	42 L		10 G	
		2	11 L	7
Collegial			12 L	
			30 G	
			31 L	
			32 L	

N = 18

Q = +.85

adopted was consistent with the balance theory (e.g., collegial). We pointed out that the teachers' preferences also suggested this sequence of events. Though the rationalistic schools had more contact, the teachers preferred less, while the opposite was true of the collegial schools. Finally, we suggested that in our sample the schools were reacting to the population rather than vice versa by showing that the population's attitude toward the schools was part of a much more general attitude they had toward other bureaucratic organizations.

We should like to explore more explicitly the quality of relationships between the school and the community. If we are correct in our assessment about the nature of administrative structures, it should follow that the teachers in collegial schools should prefer types of parent-teacher interaction which are less formalistic (e.g., permit greater expressions of affectivity), are more diffused, are more face-to-face, and have less the air of instrumentality about them.

There are three items we asked the teacher which provide some general measures of the quality of interaction between school staff and the outer community. First is a question on the overall formality of such contacts, as follows:

> "In some buildings, relationships between teachers and principals tend to be very informal, whereas in others they tend to be mainly businesslike and formal. Of course, the particular individuals involved make a difference, but generally speaking, in your building when teachers and the principal are involved in handling each of the following things, do they tend to handle them more informally or more on a businesslike and formal basis?" (Check your answer for each item.)
>
> Discussing matters about children with parents

____	____	____	____
very informal	informal	businesslike and formal	very businesslike and formal

Schools were dichotomized according to the percentage of teachers indicating either "businesslike and formal" or "very businesslike and formal."

If we now look at the relationship between the administrative structure of the school and the way in which staff-parent contacts are handled, we can see there is a push for consistency.

The more rationalistic schools not only stress formality between staff members but between staff and community as well. Table 18-7 indicates that in seven out of nine instances the rationalistic schools also stress impersonal relations when handling community primary groups, whereas this is true in three out of nine instances for the collegial structures.

To measure the legitimacy of discussing with the parents highly diffuse relationships as opposed to limiting the talk to the highly specialized issue of the child's performance, we asked the teachers the following item:

> "People have different views about what is right for schools to talk to families about. Do you think it is right for someone from school to ask a husband and wife about quarrels they had been having that might affect the child?" (Check one)

_____ certainly right
_____ probably right
_____ probably not right
_____ certainly not right

This item was dichotomized by grouping all who said "certainly" or "probably right" into one classification. The reader will recall that the collegial structure was more likely to legitimate diffused relationships because it stressed internalization of organizational goals with little *a priori* definition of duties and privileges. If the rule of consistency holds, we should find that teachers in collegial structures encourage such diffused types of parent-community contacts. If we examine Table 18-8, we find that in seven out of nine instances they do in collegial schools, whereas for rationalistic organizations this is true in two out of nine cases.

Finally, a third item seeks to find out from the teachers the extent to which discussion between parents and staff are governed by specific rules set down from the top. In order to measure this aspect of the interaction, we asked the following question:

> "Generally speaking, in your building is each of the following determined on the basis of a specific administrative rule for the building, a general administrative policy for the building with interpretation by the teacher, by individual teachers determining their own policies, or is it not possible to say?" (Please check your answer for each item.)

Table 18-7

School Mode of Control and Formality of School-Parent Interaction When Discussing Matters About Child

	Percentage of Teachers Indicating Either "Businesslike and Formal" or "Very Businesslike and Formal"			
School Mode of Control	High		Low	
Rationalistic	21 L 22 L 41 L 50 M 52 M 53 M 55 M	7	51 M 54 M	2
Collegial	11 L 31 L 42 L	3	10 G 12 L 20 G 30 G 32 L 40 G	6

N = 18

Q = +.75

Table 18-8

School Mode of Control and Percentage of Teachers in Each School Indicating "All Right" to Talk to Parents About Parents' Quarrels That Might Affect the Child

	Legitimacy of Teacher Discussing Quarrels with Parents			
School Mode of Control	All Right		Not All Right	
Rationalistic	51 M	2	21 L	7
	53 M		22 L	
			41 L	
			50 M	
			52 M	
			54 M	
			55 M	
Collegial	10 G	7	32 L	2
	11 L		42 L	
	12 L			
	20 G			
	30 G			
	31 L			
	40 G			

9
N = 18

Q = -.85

Discussing matters about children with parents

Specific administrative rule	General policy, interpretation by teacher	Individual teacher determines own policy	Not possible to say

Schools were rated according to the percentage of teachers who indicated a specific administrative rule existed.

Again, the argument would be that the more rationalistic the organization the more likely they are to stress that contact must be governed by specific rules. This, of course, cuts down the spontaneity of the contact. Only those areas and situations where the school can specify their occurrence ahead of time can be dealt with by rule-dominated procedures. Where the problems of the contact or the situations cannot be specified, such a procedure tends to cut down the amount of contact as well as the level of primary group intensity.

Table 18-9 indicates that the more rationalistic the school the more likely it is to govern its school-community relationships by a rules-oriented procedure. In five out of nine cases the rationalistic schools used rules-oriented procedures, whereas two out of nine collegial schools used such procedures.

Thus, we have now in three instances suggested that the simple principle of consistency enables one to say that the links to the outer community primary groups will be consistent with those of the internal organizational structure. Collegial administrative structures tend to use less formal modes of community linkage, to be less likely to have the contact guided by specific rules, and to legitimate more diffused types of contact.

We may move the analysis one step further in specification by examining specific linking procedures. If our hypothesis on consistency is correct, they should also be shaped by the administrative structure of the schools. For instance, we would expect that forms of the detached workers mechanism could exist only in collegial structures since this procedure calls for localized rather than hierarchical decision making, as well as affective rather than impersonal relations. The detached worker must be in a position to make decisions on the spot. He must develop trust in relations with the client. He must deal with diffused matters with little a priori definition of duties and privileges.

Table 18-9

School Mode of Control and Percentage of Teachers Indicating "Specific Administrative Rule" Exists Governing Teacher-Parent Discussions about Children

School Mode of Control	Percentage of Teachers Indicating Rule Exists			
	High		Low	
Rationalistic	41 L	5	21 L	4
	50 M		22 L	
	51 M		53 M	
	52 M		54 M	
	55 M			
Collegial	32 L	2	10 G	7
	42 L		11 L	
			12 L	
			20 G	
			30 G	
			31 L	
			40 G	

N = 18

Q = +.63

We shall use three items to illustrate this point. These items were selected so as to minimize the role of the Great Cities Project schools which had extra funds for hiring special people to make detached worker contacts. We shall utilize those contacts which deal with the regular school personnel. We asked the family respondents the following questions:

> "How many times did you ever talk with the principal or assistant principal of the (NAME OF SCHOOL) in your home?"
>
> "And now let's talk about your contact with teachers. How many times have you talked with one of (NAME OF SCHOOL)'s teachers here in your home?"

We used the mean of these two responses for our ranking. We can see in Table 18-10 that the more collegial the administrative style, the more likely home visits are to be made. Six out of the nine collegial schools are high on home visits, while three out of the nine rationalistic schools are.

Another measure of the decentralized home-school contact is the item which now asks of the teachers the following question:

> "Below are a number of ways teachers and parents may come in contact with one another. Put your best estimate of the total number of families you have been in touch with each way during this semester. Answer for each type of contact; if no contact for a type, enter '0' (zero)."
>
> > Indirect contact, by speaking to neighborhood people about family, such as ministers, doctors, block club leaders, other parents, etc.
> >
> > ___________ (TOTAL NUMBER)

The mean of teachers' estimates was found for each school and the school grouped into those above and below the median.

We can see from Table 18-11 that there is again the relationship in the direction anticipated. Five out of the nine collegial schools have teachers who speak to neighbors and friends of the family they want to reach, while three out of the nine rationalistic ones do so. This modest confirmation is in turn supported by another item. We asked the same question as above but now we did not ask what the teachers do but what the policy of the administration was on such issues. The question went as follows:

"What is the policy of the administration in this school

Table 18-10

School Mode of Control and Schools' Use of Teacher and Administrator Home Visits

	Use of Teacher and Administrator Home Visits			
School Mode of Control	High		Low	
Rationalistic	41 L	3	21 L	6
	53 M		22 L	
	54 M		50 M	
			51 M	
			52 M	
			55 M	
Collegial	10 G	6	20 G	3
	11 L		32 L	
	12 L		42 L	
	30 G			
	31 L			
	40 G			

N = 18

Q = -.60

Table 18-11

School Mode of Control and Schools' Use of Indirect Contact with Parents

School Mode of Control	Schools' Use of Indirect Means to Contact Parents High		Low	
Rationalistic	22 L 52 M 54 M	3	21 L 41 L 50 M 51 M 53 M 55 M	6
Collegial	10 G 20 G 30 G 31 L 32 L	5	11 L 12 L 40 G 42 L	4

N = 18

Q = -.43

building toward each type of teacher-parent contact?" (Check the appropriate answer for each type.)

> Making Indirect Contacts, by speaking to neighborhood people about families, such as ministers, doctors, block club leaders, other parents, etc.
>
> ______ requires ______ encourages ______ indifferent
>
> ______ discourages ______ don't know

Weighted averages were found for each school.

We find that we have an even clearer relationship when we ask the teacher about the administrative pressure than when she reported what she does. Table 18-12 indicates that in seven out of nine instances the teachers say that the administration of collegial schools encourages the mixing with local neighbors and community leaders who might reach the family, but in only two out of nine times was this true of teachers from rationalistic schools. We think Table 18-12 is especially significant because it highlights the administrative pressure that the teacher is under. Teachers may or may not succumb to this pressure as a function of the type of families they must confront as well as their own situation. Thus, a teacher with small children of her own awaiting her arrival at home might be far less inclined to visit with local school-community people. In this chapter we are seeking to show how administrative styles influence the mode of teacher-parent contact without arguing that it is the only factor that does so. Therefore, it is of some importance that a question which specifically isolates the administrative effect shows results, especially in keeping with our hypothesis.

To summarize, we have three items measuring detached worker kinds of linkages; (a) principal-teachers home visit as given by the family respondents, (b) teachers' contacts with local neighboring people as measured by the teachers' statements, and (c) the teachers' statements as to the administration desire for local community contacts, also measured by the teachers' responses. In all three cases we found that the schools with a collegial administrative style tended to give a greater stress on detached worker type of linking mechanisms. The major detached worker mechanism in our study was the community agent. However, he was part of the experimental schools and it was true as a consequence that in all instances he was in a collegial structure.

Table 18-12

School Mode of Control and School Administration's Stance Toward Teachers' Use of Indirect Contact with Parents

	School Administration's Stance Toward Teachers' Use of Indirect Contact with Parents			
School Mode of Control	Discourages		Encourages	
Rationalistic	22 L 41 L 50 M 52 M 53 M 54 M 55 M	7	21 L 51 M	2
Collegial	11 L 42 L	2	10 G 12 L 20 G 30 G 31 L 32 L 40 G	7

N = 18

Q = +.85

Let us now reverse the situation and ask what form of structure is most consistent when we look at mechanisms which involve more formalistic procedures. Again we want to isolate the effects of the project schools which had extra resources to hold after-school programs. We have three items which we think suggest the more formalistic mode of linkage as well as not being highly influenced by special conditions of the project schools.

The first item asked about parent-teacher clubs and was used as part of our measure of the voluntary association:

> "Taking the time since school started last September, how often have you gone to (NAME OF SCHOOL) to attend a meeting or join in some activity of a parent-teacher organization like PTA or Mother's Club? (THIS WOULD INCLUDE BAKE SALES OR TRIPS WITH CHILDREN, ETC.)"

We took the mean number of contacts for families in each school and dichotomized the schools at the median. In contrast to the item which dealt with a detached worker approach, we can see that in this case the rationalistic schools are more likely to have this type of linkage (seven out of nine times) than the collegial schools (four out of nine). (See Table 18-13.)

A somewhat related question also suggesting a formalistic low intensity measure of the voluntary association type was one which went as follows:

> "Now I'd like to ask about some other activities. (CHILD's) school might not have some of these activities and you may have mentioned others already, but we should go over the list just to make sure. How many times did you go to (NAME OF SCHOOL) in the last three years to attend something like a play or a program that (one of) your child(ren) was taking part in?"

The same process of coding was followed in this item as the last and it can be seen that again the results are in the same direction. (See Table 18-14.) In seven out of nine instances, the rationalistic organizations used this passive, low intensity, low focus mechanism while this was true in only two out of nine instances for the collegial structures.

Still another procedure which stressed the more formalistic, low intensity aspects of the linking mechanisms wer the school-parent conferences. In Detroit it was made mandatory for all schools to schedule a minimum number of parent conferences each year. The schools were permitted to give teachers time off

Table 18-13

School Mode of Control and School-Parent Contact Through Meetings of Parent-Teacher Organizations

	Contact in Parent-Teacher Organization Meetings			
School Mode of Control	High		Low	
	21 L		22 L	
	50 M		41 L	
Rationalistic	51 M	7		2
	52 M			
	53 M			
	54 M			
	55 M			
	11 L		10 G	
	20 G		12 L	
Collegial	31 L	4	30 G	5
	40 G		32 L	
			42 L	

N = 18

Q = +.63

Table 18-14

School Mode of Control and School-Parent Contact Through Parents' Attendance at Program Involving Child

School Mode of Control	Contact Through Parents' Attendance of School Program Involving Child			
	High		Low	
Rationalistic	21 L	7	41 L	2
	22 L		54 M	
	50 M			
	51 M			
	52 M			
	53 M			
	55 M			
Collegial	20 G	2	10 G	7
	40 G		11 L	
			12 L	
			30 G	
			31 L	
			32 L	
			42 L	

N = 18

Q = +.85

from teaching for these conferences. The purposes of these meetings was to give the parent and teachers an opportunity to talk with each other. It was not assumed to be a meeting for parents of problem children. Rather, it was another tactic suggested by the top school administration to bring school and community closer together. However, this device was variously used among the schools. Some school principals ignored the directive entirely. Some sent out announcements in such a way as to discourage attendance. A very substantial number sought to use this occasion to talk with parents of children who were having problems and more or less discouraged other parents from coming.

Because of the mandatory character of the meetings, we would not expect so great a difference between administrative styles and the use of this linkage. To measure this type of contact, we asked mothers the following question:

> "During a typical school year, how many times do you and one of these teachers meet at (SCHOOL) for teacher-parent conferences?"

We used the same procedure of getting the mean for each school and then divided the population at the median to get our groupings of high and low participants. Though the trends are modest they are still there. Rationalistic schools are more likely to have high participants in this type of linkage (six out of nine) than collegially administered schools (four out of nine). (See Table 18-15.)

With this item we conclude this phase of our analysis. The major point was to track down in specific detail how the administrative style of the organization tends to influence the type of linking mechanism used. We suggest that collegial mechanisms are likely to be much more congenial to linking procedures which permitted decentralized local decision making, high intensity, and high focus. By contrast, rationalistic mechanisms are likely to be more congenial to mechanisms which permit more centralized decision making, lower levels of intensity, and focus.

We should offer a word of caution to those who would generalize from our findings to a more general theory of the need for organizational consistency between linking mechanisms and organizational structure. We think it quite possible for even a collegial administrative structure to have linking mechanisms which have highly formalistic characteristics. It is even possible that mechanisms requiring decentralized authority can operate within a rationalistic administrative style. However, we would suggest that for such structural inconsistencies to exist, it is necessary

Table 18-15

School Mode of Control and School-Parent Contact Through Teacher-Parent Conferences

School Mode of Control	Use of Teacher-Parent Conferences High		Low	
	21 L		50 M	
	22 L		53 M	
	41 L		54 M	
Rationalistic	51 M	6		3
	52 M			
	55 M			
	20 G		10 G	
	30 G		11 L	
Collegial	40 G	4	12 L	5
	42 L		31 L	
			32 L	

N = 18

Q = +.43

to have internal mechanisms of isolation--to keep the two modes of behavior separate from each other. This general point has been discussed elsewhere (56) and its empirical exploration is beyond the scope of our present purpose. However, we should like to give one or two illustrations to make clear what we have in mind.

For instance, one type of detached worker linking mechanism that would be consistent with a rationalistic organization would be that in which the head of the organization is also the detached worker. In that case, there would be no conflict between the demands for a highly centralized authority of the rationalistic organization and the decentralized demands of the detached worker. In addition, the job of the principal is sufficiently different from that of the teacher, as well as physically isolated from them, so that he can engage in highly intensive relationships with a parent without the teachers even being aware of the inconsistency. The mechanism of isolation is one of role separation--the principal having at least two roles. One role in his relations with the teachers and another role in his relations with the parents. If he can keep these two roles separate there is no real need for conflict between his detached worker activities and the rationalistic demands of the organization.

Another instance where rationalistic organizations can operate with relatively intensive linking mechanism is where the linking mechanism is completely separated from the organization in terms of both role and person. Thus, visiting teachers or school social workers come under a different line of authority in the Detroit system. They are under only partial control of a given principal. Their real obligations are to to assistant superintendent heading up the visiting teacher program for the whole school system. They are not viewed by the teachers as one of the building staff but as people with a different profession. Therefore, they have some legitimacy for dealing with people differently. They frequently communicate with the staff in the school through the principal.

Still another illustration of a linking mechanism which can be inconsistent is that of the attendance officer. Like the detached worker, he operates outside the building. As such, they may have a need for decentralized decision making though it is far less than the ordinary detached worker because they have some legal rules that guide their behavior. Furthermore, because of the legal character of their efforts, they frequently find it difficult to establish the kind of intensity that a detached worker might generate. Yet a collegial organization, with high intensity, might operate very successfully with such a legalistic low intensity linking mechanism as long as they are kept spacially and professionally separate. The advantage of having a legal arm separate from the rest of the enterprise is that the school does not endanger its high intensity relationships as much if the legalistic formal authority can be used by others. There is, of course, again the problem of connecting the low intensity legalistic arm with the high intensity teaching arm of the school and, again, the principal of the school can act as a conductor which permits a flow of information between school and attendance department without the leakage of antithetical atmospheres.

Much of the school systems' links to the larger community are manned by personnel such as the visiting teacher (school social worker), attendance officer, school nurse, etc., who are effectively screened from the rest of the school by virtue of having separate roles, different professions, and dual lines of authority --the major one being independent of any given school. Because of this, it is quite conceivable that the mode of linkage to the community may differ from the modes developed by the school staff. Even more important, communications between the community and the school may be laborious and slow where these linkage personnel are not closely related to a given building. We hope in a future work to develop in some detail the various ways schools can be administered to provide a great variety of linkages to the community.

What we have done in this chapter is only to set the stage. We have tried to emphasize that the modes of linkage to the community are invariably tied to the administrative structure of the school. To this end we have taken the simplest and most rudimentary notion of consistency to point out that teaching staffs tend to be guided in the type of linking mechanisms they use by the need for consistency with the internal structure of the organization. Put somewhat differently, when we commit ourselves to a given type of linkage to the community, we are also committing ourselves to a given structure within the organization. We also point the direction that must be taken to modify this relationship. In either case, innovations in school-community linkages may very well fail unless the internal structure of the school is considered as well.

Summary

In the first part of this chapter, we sought to make the point that administrative styles of schools can be thought of as approaching one of two poles--the rationalistic or the collegial. The dimensions which defined these poles were degree of hierarchy of authority, degree in which rules rather than internalized policy was used, degree to which jobs had an a priori specification of duties, degree to which specialization was encouraged, and the degree to which merit was encouraged. Obviously, with this many dimensions more than two types is possible.

We restricted ourselves to only these two types because we had too few schools (only 18) to study all possible combinations. These two types were most often discussed in the literature. We felt that even with this primitive classification we would be able to test out some aspects of our balance theory.

We pointed out in this regard that our measures of the specific dimensions of the organization had a high relationship with each other and with the total index.

Once having created this typology, we pointed out that the rationalistic organization was more distant from the community primary group than the collegial one. If balance theory was operative then where the school had a community which was close, they were more likely to move toward the rationalistic pole if social distance was to be kept at a balance point. Where the community was too distant they would move toward a collegial pole. In this regard, we pointed out that the outer city schools which had the closest community had the most rationalistic schools, while the inner city had the most collegial. Furthermore, we indicated that when the schools in the lowest achievement normed neighborhoods in the inner city sought to decrease social distance, they moved toward the collegial structure. Thus, it was pointed out that the project schools had a specific mandate to close social distance between school and community. These had the most collegial structures of any of the schools. To further document that the rationalistic style in the outer city was an attempt to maintain social distance while the collegial schools in the inner city was an attempt to close the gap, we measured the teachers' preferences for increased school contact. We found that the teachers in the rationalistic outer city schools wanted less contact, while the ones in the collegial inner city schools wanted more contact with the community. Finally, we pointed out that the initiative parents had in moving into the schools was part of a larger syndrome of aggressiveness toward all bureaucratic organizations. Therefore, the school administration style was certainly affected by the population they dealt with rather than the reverse. From this cluster of findings we concluded that the very atmosphere of an organization can be used to close or open distance to the community.

Next we sought to point out that the demands for consistency meant that a given administrative style would affect the general dimensions governing school community linkages. Thus, we sought to point out that rationalistic organizations would not stress diffused relationships while the collegial might. We did this by showing that the collegial organization was more likely to legitimate discussions with parents about husband and wife quarrels. We also pointed out that collegial organizations were more likely to legitimate contacts which stressed informality as opposed to impersonality. Finally, we pointed out that collegial organizations were less likely to have rules guiding parent-teacher contact and as such were much freer to do as they wanted.

From this general description of linking mechanisms we next moved to some specific mechanisms. We pointed out that the detached worker approaches with their demands for decentralized authority and positive affect are much more consistent with collegial rather than rationalistic organizations. To this end we looked at items on teacher and principal home visits as well as items which legitimated the teachers' contact with neighbors and friends of the child's family. In contrast, when we took items which demanded a lower intensity and which could be governed by centralized authority, we found them more used by rationalistic organizations. Thus, parent-teacher clubs, parent-teacher school conferences, or parents coming to school to see the child perform in a play or concert was all used more frequently by the rationalistic schools. Taken in total, there were six items which suggested that specific linkage mechanisms were consistent with administrative structure.

Once having made this point, we also suggested that there were many instances where the school might employ mechanisms which were not consistent with the overall organizations if they were properly insulated by mechanisms of isolation. We gave some illustrations but at the same time indicated to the reader that this was a subject for further study and a future report.

Though it is quite clear that we have only scratched the surface of the potential analysis, there is yet a very clear point to be made. Administrative style of the organization does put a limit on the type of linkages one can use to close or open social distance. Anybody seeking to change the schools' balance with the outer community must, in addition, be prepared and sufficiently sophisticated about administrative style to make equivalent changes there as well. Otherwise the innovation is likely to fail.

Chapter 18

Footnotes

1. In our analysis the schools in the present state of technology would most closely approximate what has been called a professional bureaucracy(56)(61).

2. Furthermore, they differ in degree of affectivity and diffuseness as well.

Chapter 19

The Quality of the Teaching Staff

Before we close off our discussion of bureaucratic structure, one very important element remains to consider. In terms of organizational theory, we call it the "non-merit" dimension. This is perhaps the single most emphasized aspect of organization in public discussions of school problems. For in popular parlance we are speaking about inadequacies of the school staff or facilities. Typical in this regard is the statement that there are poorer teachers and facilities in the low income areas and that this is why children do not read well. The criticism of the staffs in low income areas range from statements that they have less training or less interest in their jobs, to assertions that they lack an understanding of working class orientations and therefore engage in subtle forms of bias which discourage children.(93)

It is therefore of some importance to indicate to what extent our prior findings are not simply explained by differences in school staffs. For instance, how do we know that the differences in reading skills among children from the four achievement normed neighborhoods are not simply a function of staff inadequacy in the low achievement neighborhoods? It is to this question the present chapter addresses itself. However, the reader must keep in mind that our findings on school staff cannot be generalized to the rest of the Detroit system or to any other, because we have in our sample four experimental schools where much more than the ordinary attention was given to the problem of non-merit in teachers' attitudes. Still, there is no guarantee that these efforts were successful and we do have 12 schools where no effort was made at all. Therefore, the question might legitimately be asked "to what extent can our prior findings be explained by the quality of the school staffs?"

Staff Training and Experience

We had no direct ways of assessing the quality of staffs, but there are some customary indices which others have suggested and which we will use. In general, it is thought that the number of years teaching, the number of advanced graduate courses taken beyond the B.A., and where the degree was taken might be indirect measures of the training of the staff. To provide some measure of these we asked all teachers the following questions:

"How many years of contract teaching experience do you

have?"
"How many graduate credits beyond the B.A. do you have?"
"In what state did you obtain your degree?"

In Table 19-1 it can be seen that, contrary to expectation, the greater the average length of teacher experience in the inner city, the more negative the reading achievement scores of the children. In the outer city there is a curvilinear relationship. If we break these figures down further into the achievement normed neighborhoods, we find (as shown in Table 19-2) that the only real difference in teacher tenure occurs in the very low normed neighborhoods, where the average length of experience is 16 years. In short, the most experienced teachers are to be found in the area with the worst readers. For all other areas, there is approximately a 10-year average of teaching experience. Yet there are major differences in reading skills for children in these achievement normed neighborhoods. We think the figures might hide some very significant factors, but as they now stand it is clear that the amount of teacher experience cannot by itself explain our findings.1/

Another way to get at the factor of training is to see how many credits beyond the B.A. the teacher has. Presumably this would constitute some evidence of her professional knowledge.2/ If we examine Table 19-3 we see the same pattern that occurred for teaching experience. In the inner city, teachers with the most advanced courses were likely to be in the areas where children had the worst reading scores. In the outer city there is again a curvilinear relationship. To some extent one would expect this parallel result because opportunity to accumulate graduate credits is in part a function of the length of time one has been teaching. Looking back at Table 19-2, which shows that the low achievement neighborhood is the one whose teachers have the most graduate credits--while among the other three neighborhoods there is not much difference--we are forced to conclude that the amount of advanced training cannot by itself explain our findings. It might be argued that the quality of training is yet another measure which must be taken into account. Some assert that a B.A. received in a southern school during the period in question is not really equivalent to one received in the north. While we have no way to document this statement, we present data on southern degrees because of the existence of this feeling. It can be seen from Table 19-4 that there are differences in this respect between outer city and inner city neighborhoods, but within each neighborhood there is no relationship or one that is the reverse of that expected. Given these results, it would be possible to argue that differences between inner and outer city are attributable to the inner city teachers being more poorly trained, i.e., having

Table 19-1

Reading Achievement by Average Years Teaching,* by Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood	Average Length of Time Teaching (in Years)	Average Reading Achievement Score
Inner City	18.0	-15.1 (261)
	12.0	-11.1 (420)
	9.5	-10.0 (164)
	7.5	-10.9 (172)
Outer City	18.0	-- (0)
	12.0	+ 2.3 (257)
	9.5	+ 4.0 (170)
	7.5	+ 1.9 (86)

* The average was computed for each school separately and where more than one school was involved these averages were averaged for the figure in the table. This method is used for all tables in this chapter, with clusterings based on what we judged to be "natural" breaks in the data.

Table 19-2

Reading Achievement by Neighborhood Achievement Norms and the Following Teacher Characteristics: Years Teaching Experience, Advanced Graduate Credit, Per Cent of Staff with Southern College Degree

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Average Years Teaching	Average Number of Graduate Credits Beyond the B.A.	Per Cent of Teachers with Southern Degrees	Average Reading Achievement Score of Child
Low	16.0 (141)*	21.5 (141)*	12.8 (141)*	-14.7 (345)**
Moderately Low	10.6 (234)	17.3 (234)	12.6 (234)	-10.5 (672)
Moderately High	10.2 (95)	18.5 (95)	2.0 (95)	+ 0.7 (344)
High	10.0 (55)	18.0 (55)	4.0 (55)	+ 7.5 (169)

---

* The population base for these columns is the number of teachers. However, the means were first established for each school and the school means averaged.

** The population base for this column is the number of students.

Table 19-3

Reading Achievement by Teachers' Average Number of Advanced Graduate Courses, by Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood	Average Number of Credits	Average Reading Achievement Score
Inner City	21.2	-13.6 (512)
	18.5	-11.0 (253)
	14.5	- 8.7 (165)
	12.0	-10.8 (87)
Outer City	23.0	+ 0.5 (175)
	18.5	+ 7.5 (169)
	14.5	+ 0.5 (169)
	12.0	-- (0)

Table 19-4

Reading Achievement Score by Per Cent of Teachers Who Received Their College Degrees in the South, by Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood	Per Cent Receiving Degree in the South		Average Reading Achievement Score	
Inner City	28.0	(51)*	-13.9	(173)**
	16.0	(102)	-10.9	(251)
	7.4	(156)	-11.6	(424)
	4.5	(66)	-13.3	(169)
	0.0	(0)	--	(0)
Outer City	4.0	(104)	+ 7.5	(343)
	0.0	(46)	+ 1.4	(170)

* This column gives the number of teachers.
** This column gives the number of students.

received their degrees in the south. We do not, however, believe this is the case. We think the distribution of teachers with southern degrees can be explained by the fact that they are mostly Negro teachers. These teachers until very recently were prevented from taking assignments in the outer city. In our judgment, there is no relationship between reading skills and southern degrees once this element has been taken into account (i.e., controlling for inner and outer city), and thus we feel that southern degrees are not a crucial factor.

Professional Commitment to Teaching

There are those who would argue that the teachers in poor areas do not have a professional commitment to teaching, that it is not so much they are poorly trained but that they take a mercenary view toward their jobs--all they want is the salary with a minimum of effort. In order to get some idea of the professional commitment of teachers, we asked the following two questions:

> Should teachers be required to take extra courses in order to obtain pay increments after they have been teaching 10 years?
> How many professional journals do you read on the average per month?

From the results in Table 19-5, we can see that in the inner city the most professionally oriented teachers have the children who are the poorest readers. In the outer city the reverse is true. If we examine this item by the more detailed neighborhood achievement classification, it can be seen that the neighborhoods with the poorest readers have the highest proportion of professionally oriented teachers (Table 19-6).

If we now consider the number of journals teachers read as another index of their professional commitment, we see in Table 19-7 that in the inner city there is a negative relationship between this index and the children's achievement score, and a curvilinear one in the outer city. In terms of neighborhood achievement norms, we find in Table 19-6 that teachers in the lowest and highest normed neighborhoods do about equally well on this item. Thus, in our limited sample, with its set of experimental schools, there seems to be as much professional commitment on the part of the teachers in the low achievement area as in the high achievement area.

Table 19-5

Reading Achievement by Per Cent of Teachers Who Say Teachers Should Be Required to Take Advanced Courses to Obtain Pay Increments, by Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood	Per Cent Saying "Yes"	Average Reading Achievement Score
Inner City	55.3 (144)	-12.7 (339)
	40.6 (151)	-11.8 (421)
	26.3 (85)	-10.9 (257)
Outer City	37.5 (99)	+ 3.8 (342)
	21.0 (28)	+ 1.9 (86)
	9.0 (23)	+ 0.9 (85)

Table 19-6

Reading Achievement by Neighborhood Achievement Norms and the Following Items: Per Cent Who Say Advanced Courses Should Be Required for Pay Increments, the Average Number of Professional Journals Read, and the Student-Teacher Ratio

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Per Cent Saying "Yes"	Average Number of Professional Journals Read	Average Number of Students for each Teacher	Average Reading Achievement Score
Low	52.7 (141)*	2.3 (141)*	31.0 (141)*	-14.7 (345)**
Moderately Low	37.0 (234)	2.0 (234)	34.3 (234)	-10.5 (672)
Moderately High	27.0 (55)	2.1 (55)	31.6 (55)	+ 0.7 (344)
High	37.0 (95)	2.1 (95)	31.9 (95)	+ 7.5 (169)

* Number of teachers.

** Number of children

Table 19-7

Reading Achievement by Average Number of Professional Journals Read by Teachers, by Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood	Average Number of Professional Journals Read	Average Reading Achievement Score
Inner City	2.6 (51)	-13.2 (167)
	2.1 (247)	-11.9 (596)
	1.8 (77)	- 9.5 (254)
Outer City	2.5 (23)	+ 0.9 (85)
	2.1 (83)	+ 5.6 (255)
	1.9 (44)	0.0 (173)

Administrative Biases

If the above line of evidence is accepted, it can still be argued that the inner city school staffs are inadequate because the number of students per teacher is very high. From Table 19-8 we can see that in our sample there was little relationship between the student-teacher ratio and how well the children read. Thus, inner city schools whose student-teacher ratios matched those of outer city schools still had students who read much more poorly. Looking back at Table 19-6, we can see that the lowest achievement neighborhood had the same student-teacher ratio as the highest.

Another comment frequently made apropos teachers is that inner city children do badly because their teachers are pressured not to apply absolute standards in their grading and promotion policies. The administration is said to urge that children be promoted as long as they do not constitute serious behavior problems. Thus, a child can be promoted all the way through school without really learning how to read well. In order to examine this issue, we asked the teachers the following question:

> Below are listed several approaches to the job of deciding on failures and promotions. While we recognize there may be other approaches, and that those listed may overlap to some extent, please answer each of the following questions by checking the approach that most nearly applies in each case. You may indicate by a "2" your second choice.
>
> APPROACHES TO PROMOTIONS AND FAILURES
>
> A. Social Adjustment--promote all children except those who have serious problems in getting along with others.
> B. Promotion on Effort--promote all children except those who are doing poor work because they are not trying.
> C. Promotion by Comparison--promote all children except those who do much worse than the others in their classroom.
> D. Promotion by Set Standards--promote all children except those who fall below a set standard for the city.
>
> ---
>
> Which approach comes closest to the one you now use?

The first thing to note is that only five per cent of all teachers in our sample said they now used set standards. The second thing

Table 19-8

Reading Achievement by Student-Teacher Ratio, by Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood	Average Number of Students per Teacher	Average Reading Achievement Score
Inner City	27 (119)	-13.6 (251)
	34 (106)	-12.1 (342)
	36 (148)	-10.7 (424)
Outer City	30 (26)	0.9 (89)
	32 (124)	+ 3.7 (424)

is that teachers in the inner city area were as likely, if not more likely, to use them as those in the outer city area. Thus, from Table 19-9 we can see that in the high achievement area there are no teachers who said they use set standards, whereas in the low achievement area 4.8 per cent said they did. In the moderately low area 6.7 per cent claim to use it, while in the moderately high neighborhoods 3.1 per cent make this claim. Thus, the complaint that teachers in the inner city do not use absolute standards is true, but it is a half truth; for it is also true of teachers in the outer city. Therefore, it cannot be used as the major explanation for differences between the neighborhoods. The promotion policy most teachers used (47 per cent) is the one called "Promotion on Effort." Another 10 per cent agreed that "Social Adjustment" was the major criterion they used. These two groupings comprise all those responses where the teachers agreed that the criterion used for promotion had little to do with the child's grades (Table 19-9). The reader can see that the teachers in the outer city are as likely if not more so to promote on the basis of social behavior rather than set standards. To pinpoint this issue, the schools were arranged along the continuum of those using as their criterion social effort or behavior rather than standards. As is indicated in Table 19-10, there is no relationship or else a reverse one to reading levels for both the inner and outer city neighborhoods.

Finally, there is one last point we would make with regard to "popular" criticism of school staffs and administration. It has been noted that children in poor areas have systematically poorer facilities than those in the outer city, wealthier areas. This is true of our sample. However, it remains an empirical question as to how critical physical facilities are in the teaching process. It is quite clear that at the extreme they could be crucial, i.e., if there were virtually no facilities at all, teaching could not take place. Thus, in some schools overcrowding is such that children have to go on half-day schedules--little if any teaching takes place at all. However, within our sample there were no schools with such extraordinary poor facilities that children did not have ample protection against the elements and sufficient space for teaching to take place. Within such limits we are prepared to show that physical facilities play very little role in explaining the differences in reading achievement found among the children in our sample. Three of the schools in the inner city were as new as any of the schools in the outer city. If we classify schools by newness of structure, we can see in Table 19-11 that this is not a major factor in explaining children's reading skills. Children in newer structures have, if anything, poorer reading levels than those in older structures. We obviously do not believe that new structures are bad for children,

Table 19-9

Reading Achievement by Per Cent of Teachers Who Use Set Standards in Their Pupil Promotion Policy, and Per Cent Who Use Effort or Social Promotion, by Neighborhood Achievement Norms

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Per Cent Who Use Set Standards*	Per Cent Who Use Social Promotion** or Effort***	Average Reading Achievement Score
		Inner City	
Low	4.8 (141)	61 (141)	-14.7 (345)
Moderately Low	6.7 (234)	50 (234)	-10.5 (672)
		Outer City	
Moderately High	3.1 (55)	64 (55)	+ 0.7 (344)
High	0.0 (95)	65 (95)	+ 7.5 (169)

---

* Students are evaluated on the basis of some pre-determined national standard.

** Students are passed as long as they are not severe behavior problems.

*** Students are passed as long as they show they are trying.

Table 19-10

Reading Achievement by Use of Social Promotion,* by Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood	Per Cent of Teachers Using Social Promotion or Student Effort as Criterion for Pupil Promotion		Average Reading Achievement Score	
Inner City	0-29	(43)	-10.0	(83)
	30-49	(57)	-11.4	(164)
	50-59	(146)	-12.9	(431)
	60-70	(145)	-11.1	(335)
Outer City	0-29	(0)	--	
	30-49	(0)	--	
	50-59	(26)	- 0.9	(89)
	60-70	(124)	+ 3.7	(424)

* Social promotion means that teachers promoted children if they were not serious behavior problems or if there was some evidence that they were trying.

Table 19-11

Reading Achievement by Age of School Building, by Inner and Outer City

Neighborhood	Age of Building	Average Reading Achievement Score
Inner City	New*	-13.6 (257)
	Old	-11.3 (760)
Outer City	Very New	- 0.9 (89)
	New	+ 3.7 (424)
	Old	-- (0)

[*] We do not have the precise age of these buildings but we would estimate that they range from five to 15 years old at the time we did our study. In any case, they were newer than almost all of our outer city schools with the exception of the one we labeled "very new."

but we do think that other social factors are so overriding that the effects of the new structure cannot readily be seen.

There is much further evidence that can be developed along these lines and we hope to do so in the future. However, the evidence that we do present, as limited as it is, very much suggests that differences in teachers' qualifications and in physical facilities are not what cause some children in our sample to read poorly.

Teacher Training that Might Affect Reading Achievement

Yet, having made this point, we would not want the reader to infer that teaching is not crucial.3/ Or, that "poor" teaching is not responsible for the poor performance of the children in the inner city. However, we feel that insofar as teachers in the inner city are poor teachers, it is because they are generally so much like the ones in the outer city. We would argue that the problems of teaching inner city children are different from those of teaching outer city ones because of the differences in milieu. The very problem of the school systems and the schools of education is that they have been training teachers to teach middle class children.

We are not prepared to empirically document this point, though others have sought to develop it in some detail(93). However, to give the reader a sense of the nature of our future analysis on this issue, we would like to present two items of interest. We asked each homeroom teacher to rate each child on the child's chances of finishing high school. If we examine Table 19-12 we can see that in the low achievement areas 37 per cent of the children were rated as having only a fair or poor chance of finishing. By contrast, nine per cent of those in the high achievement neighborhood were rated this low. Since we were asking teachers for factual estimates we cannot assume that these ratings reflect a negative bias on the part of the teachers--if anything, they exaggerate the current rate of graduation from high schools in these areas.

We followed up this question with still another which asked the chief reasons for rating children as having a fair or poor chance of finishing high school. The teachers were asked to choose from the following list of reasons: (a) family's limited knowledge about education and how to help child through school; (b) family's lack of interest in education; (c) deprived economic and social living conditions; (d) disorganized family life; (e) child slow because of low capacity or limited intelligence; (f) child's lack of incentive, low motivation, child doesn't try;

Table 19-12

Percentage of Children that Homeroom Teachers Say Have a Fair or Poor Chance of Finishing High School, by Neighborhood Achievement Norm

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Per Cent of Children
Low	37 (345)
Moderately Low	38 (672)
Moderately High	24 (344)
High	09 (169)

(g) child's psychological or emotional problems; and (h) other reasons which they could write in as they saw fit. They were allowed to choose as many reasons as they wished.

What we find very instructive is that over fifty per cent of the children whom teachers had thus rated were labeled as having difficulty because they had "limited intelligence" (Table 19-13). This was one of the two categories most heavily used by the teachers, the other being the child's lack of incentive. There are several very instructive things about these ratings. First, the assignment of biological reason for the child's performance relieves the teacher of much responsibility for preparing the child for higher education. At worst it means the teacher can, with some sense of comfort, concentrate on teaching social manners and minimal skills to carry on everyday activities. At best it means setting up special vocational programs for "retarded" children.

A second consideration is that it is very difficult for even the best expert to differentiate between biological intelligence and cultural deprivation--especially among the very low income families. Therefore, the teachers' estimations do not necessarily reflect the facts of the case but rather their own "attitudes." With this in mind we can look again at Table 19-13 and find still another interesting phenomenon. The teachers from the outer city are as likely to utilize biological reasons for poor performance as those from the inner city. This is most important for it touches on our central point that teachers in the inner and outer city are not really that different from each other on crucial teaching procedures and attitudes.

With these points in mind we can now present the conclusion of our argument--having a poorly informed teacher has a much more devastating impact on the inner than on the outer city child. This is because the inner city is much more likely to have children vulnerable to bias than is the outer city. Thus, if the lowest achievement neighborhood in Table 19-12 is compared to the highest, there are almost four times as many children who teachers estimate will fail. In short, there are almost four times as many who are open to the rating of being biologically limited. To review briefly, we have said that teachers in both the inner and outer city are uninformed as to cultural factors which enter into the child's poor performance. In the outer city this does not make so much difference because the social milieu is conducive to education. In the inner city this is a very serious error for a comparable reason. Here, we speculate, the teachers' biases lock into the poor social milieu to accelerate its negative effects. In short, we would hypothesize that in our sample if one were to make an interchange of staffs from outer city to inner city

Table 9-13

Percentage of Children (of Those Rated as Having Only a Fair or Poor Chance of Finishing High School) that the Teacher Feels Have a Low Biological Intelligence, by Neighborhood Achievement Norm

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Per Cent of Children with "Low Biological Intelligence"
Low	57 (128)
Moderately Low	55 (257)
Moderately High	51 (82)
High	66 (15)

schools, there would be no major improvement in reading skills of the children unless the staff that were moved to the inner city were given special training.

There is yet one other point raised in the popular criticism of school staffs. The argument is made that in our present social context it is important for Negro students to have Negro teachers. This is because the larger social milieu is so critical of Negroes that Negro children have a very low image of themselves. It is therefore important, the argument goes, for them to have Negro teachers who in turn will provide them with a model of success. Again, we do not vouch for the truth or lack of truth of such a statement. However, we do want to see if this might in some measure explain the findings in our study. Since we have Negro children only in the inner city, we can only study the problems within the inner city. To get some rough estimate of this phenomenon we classified the teaching staffs in the inner city in terms of the proportion who were Negro. If we examine Table 19-14 we can see there is no relationship, or else a negative one, between the proportion of Negro staff members and the reading achievement of the Negro children. There are two obvious kinds of objection which can be raised to this type of analysis. First, the school system may systematically assign Negro teachers to the areas where the children read most poorly and, two, they are less likely to assign Negro teachers where there are heavy majorities of white families. As a consequence, where we find heavy concentrations of Negro staff members in a school, there is a Negro majority in the population. The latter factor may intervene so as to obscure the consequence of Negro staff members.

We shall take a quick look at these problems by first classifying our respondents in terms of the achievement normed neighborhood within which they live. Second, we shall classify all Negro respondents in terms of whether the school neighborhood is predominantly Negro or white, or is split. Given these controls, we can see in Table 19-15 that there is no association between percentage of the staff Negro and the reading achievement of the child. The only real possibility for such an association is among the Negro children who live in neighborhoods where Negro children are not the clear majority. In this situation there is a curvilinear relationship. We would argue on this basis that our findings on major differences in the reading skills of children are not likely to be explained away by the racial characteristics of the staff.

Summary

This concludes our discussion of teacher characteristics.

Table 19-14

Reading Achievement of Negro Children by Proportion of Staff Which Is Negro (Inner City Families Only)

Proportion of Staff Negro	Reading Achievement Score of the Negro Student
78-83	-15.0 (170)
55-58	-12.1 (251)
34-46	-12.6 (30)
29-30	-15.3 (62)
09-20	-11.9 (147)

Table 19-15

Reading Achievement of Negro Children by Proportion of Staff Negro, by Proportion of the Students Negro, by Achievement Normed Neighborhoods (Inner City Only)

Neighborhood Achievement Norm	Per Cent of Staff Negro	School Population Predominantly Negro (95% or More)		School Population Not Predominantly Negro (55 to 16% Negro)	
Low	78-83	-15.0	(170)	--	(0)
	58	-15.0	(88)	--	(0)
	30	--	(0)	-16.0	(21)
Moderately	78-83	--	(0)	--	(0)
Low	55-56	-10.5	(163)	--	(0)
	34-44	--	(0)	-12.4	(30)
	20-29	--	(0)	-14.2	(87)
	9-11	-10.9	(85)	-12.7	(16)

We have tried to show that in our limited sample the differences between neighborhoods cannot be accounted for by obvious teacher characteristics. The teachers in the lowest achievement neighborhoods were as experienced and had as much advanced training as others. We pointed out that inner city teachers had as much professional commitment toward teaching as did the outer city teachers, if not more. Also in our limited sample the student-teacher ratio made little difference for reading achievement. Finally, both inner and outer city teachers used pretty much the same promotional criteria--social promotion rather than some set standards --and these made little difference in reading achievement. We suggested that in our sample the differences between staffs in the inner and outer city schools could not really account for the differences in children's reading scores in the various achievement normed neighborhoods. Quite the contrary, we felt that it was the very lack of difference that hampered the teachers in the inner city. We tried to illustrate this by pointing out that teachers in the inner and outer city were equally likely to give biological factors a high priority in accounting for potential high school dropouts. However, in the outer city only a fraction of the students were thought to be potential dropouts, while in the inner city over a third were so rated. If one assumes the teacher to be in error in ascribing biological factors, the error is much more damaging in the inner than in the outer city.

Finally, we addressed ourselves to the issue of the racial character of the staff. There are those who argue it is especially important for Negro children to have Negro teachers if they are to do well in class. Our study showed that Negro children in schools dominated by Negro teachers did no better than those in schools dominated by white teachers.

We would conclude this chapter with several themes we have sounded throughout. The reader is not to interpret our findings as implying the teacher does not play a major role in the educational process. We think she does. However, we also believe that the teachers in our sample did not differ too much from each other in the crucial aspects of teaching. As a consequence, the differences we found between the achievement normed neighborhoods could not be explained in terms of the teachers.

Second, the foregoing does not mean that the criticisms of teachers in the inner city are not valid. What it does mean is that the criticism is equally valid for outer city teachers. It is not just those in the inner city who use social promotion, but those in the outer city as well.

Third, we have made the point that errors in teaching, even when they are system wide, have much more negative consequence in the inner than the outer city. For in the inner city they become locked into a milieu which is not as supportive of education and accelerates the negative effect. Thus, social promotion in the inner city leads to a substantial number of children being promoted through high school without being able to read. In the outer city it only affects a small minority of the population. It is our inference from all this that the teaching staffs in the inner city require special training to deal with the milieu of low income neighborhoods, and it is the lack of such training that results in their being less effectual.

Chapter 19

Footnotes

1. We suspect, for instance, that teaching experience means quite different things in the low income and high income areas. Until very recently teachers who had seniority could generally choose their schools. Also, until recently most teachers sought schools in the middle class areas. We find in our sample that teachers in lower income areas are more dissatisfied with their school than those in the outer city areas. Given these factors it can be asked, why is the teacher with long tenure to be found in the inner city? We think there were four major reasons.

   First, prejudice has kept many Negro teachers in the inner city. Second, teachers who were in some sense unfit would not be accepted in the middle class school despite their tenure. Third, teachers who did not want to deal with intellectually aggressive children or were fearful of observant middle class parents might not seek middle class placements. Finally, teachers who were ideologically committed would remain in low income areas. We think that only in very recent years have substantial numbers of teachers in the last category entered the inner city. However, we believe that the bulk of the long-term tenure group in the inner city (at the time we did our study) consisted of Negro teachers prevented by prejudice from moving into outer city schools, and those who for various reasons were not able teachers.

2. Taking advanced courses cannot be considered a complete measure of a teacher's professional commitment since the school system does demand that advanced courses be taken if a teacher is to get pay increments. All we are assuming here is that the teacher will learn something from the courses--regardless of her motivation for attending. It should also be pointed out that we will present evidence later on that teachers who take these advanced courses apparently do value them (i.e., there is an ecological correlation between the two groups).

3. There are several bases for indicating the powerful role of the teacher. First, we have not actually ruled out teacher effects in this chapter but have only suggested that they by themselves cannot explain the findings. There is no reason why they may not, in conjunction with other social factors, play a role. But more important is that it is difficult if

not impossible to assess the effects of teachers where they play a relatively constant role in the educational process. To make this point clear, we need only ask ourselves how much learning would take place if we removed all teachers from the school system and let children teach themselves, or if we used untrained personnel. The reader must therefore clearly understand that when we say the teachers cannot explain the differences in reading level, we do not mean to imply that the teachers do not play a crucial role in the teaching of reading.

Chapter 20

Problems for Further Explorations, Policy Implications and Summary

The Major findings of our research are now before the reader. We should like to do three things in this concluding chapter: First, highlight some of the problems raised by our study which suggest new directions for future research; second, sketch some of the policy implications that flow from this study; third, summarize the major findings.

The Neighborhood as a Primary Group

In presenting our theory we spoke in global terms of bureaucratic organizations and primary groups. However, in the main body of our study we indicated that there are several types of primary groups not to mention a variety of bureaucratic organizations. The more precisely we can identify these primary groups and their "unique" functions the more precisely we can state the predictions of balance theory.

As we pointed out, we believe that the neighborhood is one of the major primary groups in an urban society, especially as it relates to elementary school education. It is also one of the least investigated social units. As a consequence there are very basic questions of research and theory still to be answered. In this report we have suggested some of the unique functions of the neighborhood which might be derived from its structure. We argued that some social processes which require everyday visual observation to be learned, short term emergencies, and the handling of certain civic functions which are geographically based, might all be unique primary group functions of the neighborhood as compared to the family kin structure. Compared to the nuclear family, we see the neighborhood primary group as better able to provide extra manpower, the capacity to aid where there is internal dissension in the nuclear family, or where members of the nuclear family are not available (e.g., because of injury, death, divorce, etc.) These ideas are only initial leads. The elaboration and systematic research on the unique functions of the neighborhood primary group is an important direction for new research. In this connection there is a need to indicate what the functions are for neighborhoods defined in different geographical units, e.g., next door neighbors, neighbors within walking distance, and larger sub-communities within the city. This line of inquiry has recently been identified by Greer (29a) and we think it should be pursued and developed.

We have argued that the neighborhood achieved its effect, like most groups, through selection, socialization, or expulsion. What we think makes the neighborhood unique as a primary group in modern urban society is that--unlike the classic primary group--it does not have permanent membership. We think technological demands for rational allocation of labor mean that people will be continually moved around. Technological demands for rational use of land will mean that land use will continually change so that whole neighborhoods will be leveled for superhighways or new industrial developments, etc. Finally, technology continually raises standards of living so that housing acceptable ten or twenty years ago is no longer satisfactory. As a consequence of forces such as these, neighborhoods must be characterized by the speed with which they recruit, socialize, and expell people to survive in modern societies. Short tenure can be compensated for if the processes of the group can be speeded up. Initial inquiry into this issue and study of some of the mechanisms for speeding up neighborhood integration have already been made.(19) This line of research offers a new, exciting direction that can begin, in turn, to lay the ground work for the proper conceptualization of the neighborhood as a primary group. We can begin to talk about neighborhoods organized around the principle of rapid integration, such as Park Forest described by Whyte (100), as compared to neighborhoods organized around the principle of stability, such as the upper class community described by Warner (94). By adding the value dimension and the territorial dimension, we may soon be able to develop a typology of neighborhoods that would provide guidelines for future research and theoretical elaborations. To be able to posit theoretically ideal neighborhood structures for an industrial society would not only be a contribution to sociology as a scientific discipline, but would be of great value as well to the policy maker.

The Family and Other Primary Groups

The family as a primary group received far more research attention and theoretical elaboration. Some students of society suggest that they already know the family types that best accommodate to industrial bureaucracy--the isolated nuclear family (74) (90). The issue is, however, unsettled (58) and this is an area when the need for research is obvious.

Standing between the family and the neighborhood are a series of other possible primary groups that should be investigated. There is the non-neighborhood friendship group which we would expect to be similar in function to the family kin group. There is the work friendship group. There are the voluntary associational friendship groups. On these matters we have little information. Yet if our analysis about the functions of bureaucratic organizations and primary groups is correct, all such groups could be very important.

Each of these "primary groups" have somewhat different structural properties, and as a consequence it is probable that they might have different functional efficiencies as well.

Linking Mechanisms -- methodological considerations.

One of the biggest disappointments of the current research was our inability to provide simultaneously an analysis of all linking mechanisms. We are still working on the problem and hope to have such an analysis available in the future. The need to break up our sample into so many different groups in order to isolate the effects of any given linking mechanisms limits our analysis. Our theory calls for the simultaneous analysis of all linking mechanisms and we hope that future studies are able to do this either by taking a larger sample or by making more accurate measures of the linking mechanisms and having some procedures for combining diverse populations.

Another haunting issue in the discussion of balance theory is the question of how one measures the point of balance. At this time we have no general theoretical solution. Rather, we think a series of studies might be undertaken to see if they might not suggest some metric of balance. To test the theory we can and did use a simple ranking procedure, following the tradition of most empirical research in sociology. Yet, it would be of some importance to try to estimate whether the costs of too much closeness are the same as the costs of too much distance. Is the true balance in the center or to one side? We have assumed the costs are equal but this is a researchable question.

Linking Mechanisms -- their asymmetries.

This research report was written as though balance was to be achieved only by actions of the bureaucracy as it seeks to influence the community. However, the opposite might be the case when the community actively seeks to influence the organization. Thus many parents in the inner city neighborhoods are ahead of the schools in their demand for higher standards of teaching. Their problem is to convince the schools to change. The research question arises: Are the linking mechanisms symmetrical--can the primary groups direct them to the formal organizations in the same way as the formal organizations direct them to the primary groups? We have suggested in our report that they cannot. The superior resources of the bureaucratic organization permits it to initiate contact with many mechanisms whereas the primary group must generally start with the voluntary association and possibly the mass media approaches. Other mechanisms that community primary groups can use seem to be very much class biased, e.g., the wealthier primary groups will have more access to them than the poorer ones. We suggested in addition that bureaucratic organizations were generally more publically exposed than primary groups and therefore can be much more readily reached through mass media or mass protest movements. As a consequence we suggested that the sequencing and types of mechanisms which are most effective would vary depending on whether the linkages are directed towards the bureaucratic organizations or the primary groups. We think that the explorations of these possible asymmetries is an important issue upon which our study did not touch at all.

Dimensions of Linkages and their Unique Stresses and Strains.

In our theory of linkages we did not discuss in this report the special stresses and strains that might be attached to each linkage procedure. For instance, a detached worker approach uses a single individual to bridge the institutional contradiction brought about by linking a primary group with a bureaucratic organization, putting a very heavy burden on the individual. How this stress is contained or managed would be of great interest. For instance, will a rotation policy be useful? Would legal rules of confidentiality be a device for reducing conflict? How do the problems of this linking mechanism differ from those of the opinion leader? We have explored some of the possible stresses and strains elsewhere (64) but there is virtually no research on many of these issues. Our discussion of the opinion leader and the use of passive mechanisms in this report only begins to raise the problems involved.

Linkages and the Problems of Interorganizational coordination.

To reach the community primary groups it is sometimes desirable to go through other organizations. For instance, where the other organization already has great access to the community and shares a common goal it might be employed to reach some particular community group. Thus the schools might get quick acceptance of some position with virtually no cost if they have the backing of indigenous ethnic organizations which are closely tied to the community. There are a variety of reasons why a school might utilize other organizations, ranging from the fact that the matter at hand is outside of the expert role of the school (e.g., psychiatric services for parents) to the fact that other organizations can exert formal authority (asking the police to rid the neighborhood of prostitutes). The maintenance of relationships with other organizations is an art in itself which we have not discussed. Nor have we discussed the conditions under which the schools might well use such an approach. We have developed some preliminary notions along these lines elsewhere (60) (64) (49). However, there is virtually no research in this area and we think it is quite central to school-community relations.

Balance Theory, Values, and the Need to Deal With Contending Groups.

Our balance theory has so far not dealt with the problem of which values are most desirable. We selected education as a value partly because conflict of values about its desirability is minimal. But value differences become a problem where there are two or more groups in the community contending for power. Our balance theory does suggest that a position in such a conflict which has both organized primary groups and organized bureaucracies linked in a balanced relationship will succeed against a position which has only one of these, or all of them but not in a balanced relationship. For a long time schools in the inner cities could maintain their definition of education despite the community viewpoints because the community groups were disorganized and had no formal organizational representation. However, the equation of power changes when the primary groups get the most rudimentary organization -- protest groups. Schools confronted with such voluntary groups can continue to dominate if these community groups remain rudimentary voluntary organizations. However, if they establish a more permanent organizational base, the schools must change or establish competitive linkages to primary groups in the neighborhood. Where the school does not express acceptable values, the influence would probably run ultimately from the competing community groups into the school. Where the contrary is the case, achievement of acceptable values would probably mean setting up competing community groups. The entire problem of the organizational basis for settling disputes over values in the community is an important area for new research.

Bureaucratic Organizations and Problems of Administrative Styles.

Our study included more schools than most comparative studies of organizations, but it was still too few in the light of present theoretical knowledge of organizations. Because we had only eighteen schools we were forced to use simple dichotomies when investigating the effects of administrative structures. This was not a result only of the small member, but also because we were not able to include the range of organizations through our sampling procedures. It may be, too, that any given school systems produce similar school styles. We think that there are at least five different administrative styles currently found among schools which have theoretically identifiable properties. Besides the rationalistic, we think there are its off-shoots -- paternalistic and autocratic. Besides the collegial, there is an off-shoot frequently called "laissez-faire." In addition, we think that the model most often used in the schools is one which we have called the professional. These schemes have been developed in some detail elsewhere (56) (61). Though there has been much research on organizational structure, only recently have students begun to investigate the unique advantages of different types of administrative structures. If our balance theory is correct, different styles of administration should be used depending on how close the community is to the schools. Therefore the empirical exploration of different types of administrative styles is one of the key factors in our balance theory. Another key problem is the study of processes by which organizations change from one style to another. In addition, a much more detailed elaboration of the way in which administrative styles put limits on the kind of linkage mechanisms which can be used is a most important problem.

Social Policy and Balance Theory.

It is clear from the nature of our research that we do not have sufficient evidence to claim definitively that we have verified our point of view. Therefore, any policy implications from this study must be most cautiously presented. The policy maker, facing a decision and lacking adequate evidence, might find our conclusions incompletely documented as they are, about all the systematic research available.

With all the reservations here implied, we would say that our general hypothesis, turned around and taken as fact, could become a general guideline for social policy. We shall extend the implications of this remark more specifically.

However, we should like to deal with one of the larger issues of social policy upon which our report has continually touched. The question might well be asked whether policy should concentrate on the local communities--schools, families, and neighborhoods--or whether it should concentrate on major legislative influences to open up the job structure, redistribute income, alter educational opportunities, etc. We have pointed out that problems of family, neighborhood, and bureaucracies are locked into the overall social structure. It is difficult to change basic family socialization patterns where the neighborhood is poor. It is difficult to provide more school services where the allocations of funds to the schools is limited by a larger community decision. It is difficult to develop high educational aspirations in a family if they do not have resources to keep their children in school. In the light of such considerations many persons have suggested that the key approach is to provide jobs and income to poor people. Everything else will take care of itself. Though in part sympathetic to this argument, we in part disagree. One major problem is that what will cause a society to alter the income distribution, change the occupational structure, provide better access to educational institutions, etc. is not clear. We see little to encourage a belief that policy follows altruistic impulses in the absence of stronger ideological forces than it appears possible to create or sustain by deliberate design. Some students argue that the impetus for change will come from the very nature of technology, in which case there is presumably nothing to do but wait for the unfolding logic of industrialization. But, if one does take a view that something can be done, he must in our opinion resort to something like the balance theory. He must say that political processes are necessary, and to develop political pressure requires supportive primary groups, some form of bureaucratic organization and some balance of relationships between them.

There is an additional consideration which suggests that local organizational efforts are worthwhile at the same time that one calls for changes in the larger social structure. If we were today to pass legislation guaranteeing all low income people good jobs, free access to universities, and no race prejudice, there would in our view still be tremendous differences between low income populations and middle class ones, a function of the fact that the middle class would initially have better knowledge and socialization bases than the working class. All things being equal their children would still continue to do better and be more likely to take advantage of the educational opportunities. Thus countries like Sweden have had practically free education through the university levels for over 50 years and yet there is a tremendous differential in the percentage of working class and middle class families going to college. It is likely that occupational experiences and increased income would eventually provide a good knowledge and socialization base for low income families and in the long run they might catch up. This is a comforting thought, but no one can say what the long run is in this case. Even so, as low income populations develop improved educational bases, the middle income groups might be doing so even more. This would be analogous to the highly industrialized nations who have been increasing the gap between themselves and the emerging industrial nations. For reasons of this sort we feel that any change in the larger social structure (e.g., legislation increasing job opportunities) must be accompanied by systematic programs for increasing the structure and organization of community-bureaucratic relations in the low income areas.

Let us make it clear that these changes must be made simultaneously with changes in larger social structure. We have suggested in the main body of our report that many of the key family socialization processes are so tied into the larger social structure that no major changes can be contemplated without changes in structure. It does no good to teach a family to utilize verbal skills rather than unreasoned force if they live in a neighborhood where force is the major mode of interaction. It makes no sense to talk about changing the neighborhood norms if one does not have the economic resources to provide greater police protection and to provide people with jobs so incentives to violence become muted.

We have then a theory of change which suggests a continuous relationship between the organization of the local community and the larger social structure. Because both are parts of a single system, no major change in one area can be contemplated without changes in the other area as well.

We may now consider the specific policy implications of our balance theory. Because we have elaborated these implications in detail elsewhere, we will only sketch them here (61)(63)(64).

If we are correct in our analysis, there are basically three policy positions the school administrator can take--the open door, the locked door, and the balanced theory. If he adopts the balanced theory approach one of the first things he must do is to make an assessment as to whether his local community primary groups are too distant, too close, about right, or split into segments some of which are too distant and some too close. The theoretical basis for making such assessments is difficult to state, however, pragmatically there are several ways to do so. If the children in a school are very far behind national norms on a given educational criterion, one can assume that the community is too distant or the administrative style is wrong or both. On the other hand, even if the children are well above the national norms, they may not be at maximum achievement if the parents are pressing their private demands on the teachers or if there are many children obviously breaking under the strain of excessive competition. The principal might rightly conclude the community is close. What we suggest are only comparative guidelines and they seem to make some sense when speaking of the extreme situations. For principals whose pupils are around the national norm, who feel that more needs to be done, trial and error experimentation is called for to see whether increases or decreases in social distance will work best.

Where the assessment is made that the community is too distant the principal should, we suggest, think of mechanisms which provide him with initiative and intensity as well as the possibility of moving his administrative style toward a collegial type. Where the assessment concludes that the community is basically in sympathy with educational goals but does not have necessary knowledge, then he must concentrate on mechanisms with high intensity and possibly high focus. Where families for various reasons are demoralized or fearful or hostile, he must in addition have mechanisms of high initiative. Again there is no way in theory for making diagnosis, an easy or infallible diagnosis, but there are some simple pragmatic tests for such assessments. In an elementary school an invitation can be issued to parents of children who are below the norms to come into school to discuss their child's status. Those who turn up for this conference and maintain contact with any "settlement house" type arrangement the school provides,can be assumed to have high interest but lack knowledge. Those who do not show up or show up once but never again require a mechanism of high initiative.

When dealing with populations that are too close, our theory suggests resorting to mechanisms with low intensity and low initiative and moving the administrative style towards the rationalistic pole. This means, with regard to potential parent contact, the institution of rules and regulations as to when parents might enter the school and who they must see. It means the use of mechanisms such as "voluntary associations" run very formally with emphasis on factual reports by the school staff and with a minimal interaction. This would contrast with the balanced situations where voluntary associations might be run much more informally and become a chief basis for interchange between parents and teachers as to what is going on.

If our balance theory is correct, the policy maker must remember also that he will have to change his tactics as his efforts succeed. Thus, if he is dealing with a very distant community and he moves it several degrees closer to the school, he should change his linking mechanisms to adjust to the new distance, e.g., shift to those with less initiative or less intensity.

Furthermore, the administrator of any given school should be sensitive (under balance theory) to the need to change his tactics where there are rapid changes evident in his neighborhood. Thus it is not uncommon in large cities in the space of five or so years to find a very substantial turnover in population with a middle income group leaving and a lower one moving in. The linkages which were satisfactory in one case might not work very well in another. In general, this means moving from a low initiative, moderate intensity, low focus, kind of an approach to the opposite.

Finally, if our balance theory is correct, the principal should always recognize that shifts in linkages require shifts in organizational structure as well. This requires the understanding and cooperation of the entire school staff. It requires a kind of organizational sophistication which most teachers and principals may not yet have, not because it is difficult or they are recalcitrant but simply because most professionals have not been trained to think of a multiplicity of administrative styles each with its unique virtue. Where the school has to deal with distant families and seeks to bring them closer, it will be helpful to move towards a collegial style of administration. Where they want to increase distance with families, they should utilize a more rationalistic administrative style. Teachers and principals should be familiar with the various administrative styles and their rationales. With such understanding, many of the problems of changing administrative structures might be reasonably attached.

These, then, are some of the major policy implications we see in the theory on which this report is based. We would add one word of caution based on the experience of working with the Detroit schools. We would recommend that the initial training of people in this approach be concentrated in one or two major centers of the school system because the theory and its policy implications are sufficiently ambiguous that they are best taught through an apprenticeship experience. Once major administrative and operating officers have gone through this apprenticeship experience, the approach can be spread to other schools of the system, possibly with help of outside sources. To promulgate such a program in a massive way without intensive training or understanding will probably lead to a formalistic application of the policy rather than in terms of its spirit and interest. This would probably mean that the traditional ways of doing things will continue, not due to deliberate sabotage but as a simple consequence of the fact that most changes in policy have many ramifications which cannot be spelled out in conclusive details. The administrator with limited knowledge and experience will therefore probably do what comes naturally, i.e., what he did in the past.

Summary

We can briefly review what we have sought to do in this study.

In Chapter 1, we describe the theoretical foundation for the study. Identifying three major philosophies of school-community relations--the open door, the locked door, and the balance theory--we sought to point out that the basic structure of the school as a bureaucratic organization and the family and neighborhood as primary groups suggest that the latter one best able to handle non-uniform events whereas bureaucratic organizations are best able to handle uniform ones. We had a very special meaning for non-uniform events, i.e., those events which are so simple that the average person can handle them as well as the trained expert, those events for which we lack the knowledge base to train experts, and, finally, those events which are idiosyncratic or so complex that trained experts cannot be brought to bear on them quickly enough to make a difference. We suggested that the educational process (as is true of most processes) involves in considerable parts both uniform and non-uniform aspects. As a consequence, it is necessary for community primary groups and bureaucratic organizations to work closely together. These ideas provided theoretical support for the open door position. However, we also pointed out that bureaucratic organizations and primary groups had contradictory atmospheres which would lead to conflict if they were brought into close contact. This would support the "locked" door point of view. We suggested that both of these propositions were true and there were, therefore, two types of errors a school-community policy could make. On the one hand, it could run the risk of being too distant from the primary groups which could lead to the primary groups canceling out school efforts. On the other hand, they could run the risk of being too close which would put pressure on teachers to provide biased evaluations or for parents to institute contractual relations in the home. We therefore suggested that the optimum solution is one in which the school seeks to operate at some middle distance from the community. This means that in the low income areas where the families are very distant from the schools, they should seek linking procedures which will bring the community into the school. In the high income areas where families might be too close to the schools they should seek linking procedures which will increase social distance. Where the community is already at an optimum distance they should seek linking mechanisms which will retain distance as it is. We referred to the notion of keeping a middle distance as the "balance theory of coordination."

With this general framework in mind, we turned to the analysis of our data. In Chapter 2 we described the three interlocking surveys from which our data come. The master frame for all of them was set by taking 4 elementary schools that were part of the Detroit Great Cities School Improvement Project. These four schools were located in very low income areas in the center city. We sought to match each of the four schools with two non-project schools (8 all together) which had similar socioeconomic characteristics but which did not have the same intensive school-community programs. This gave us twelve schools located in the inner city of Detroit. To these we added six schools located in the outer city of Detroit, two with presumably close school community relations and two matching each of these, with more distant relations. The matching was in part based on the census characteristics of the areas and in part on the judgment of school officials. Thus our initial sampling frame consisted of eighteen schools. We selected approximately 85 children at random from the sixth and fifth grades. We interviewed their mothers in their homes (or the person who was acting in that capacity). There were 1530 family interviews. In addition, we gathered interview-questionnaire data from the 1530 children. Finally, we gave a questionnaire to all teachers in the eighteen schools and conducted special interviews with the homeroom teacher of each child. In Chapter 3 we pointed out that the object of investigation was the reading skill of the child as measured by the vocabulary section of the Iowa Achievement Test. We pointed out that it correlated as highly as it could with the total reading section of this test--given its level of reliability. We used this test because it was one already in use by the Detroit system and therefore permitted us to take into account the reading level of the children over time. We also sought to point out that the reading achievement test scores seemed to be different from the reading grades given by the teacher. The latter seemed to be influenced by the child's behavior rather than just his reading ability.

Reading ability seemed to operate somewhat independently of positive orientations towards schools. In fact, the children from the schools with the poorest reading achievement were most likely to say they liked school. We argued that their responses were reliable by showing it held for several different items in slightly different areas all of which asked for evaluations of school. We also tried to show that children were not just trying to please the investigators since they were quite willing to make negative comments about the kinds of subject matter they liked, and about their delinquent behavior. Finally, these evaluations related pretty much to the teachers' judgments as well as our own based on observing all the fifth and sixth grade classes in the eighteen schools.

We suggested that reading ability operated somewhat independently of the child's occupational and educational aspirations and expectations. We pointed out with respect to aspirations that the crucial factor was not what the child ideally wanted but what they would be willing to settle for. The evidence indicated that children in low income areas had the same or higher aspirations than others, but they were willing to settle for considerably less than those from high income areas. We suggested that occupational and educational concerns, though possibly affecting reading abilities, were still somewhat different and should be treated so. Finally, we pointed out the delinquency or school behavior was another factor that might have an indirect relationship to reading skills but was yet different. In conclusion, we took the forty-nine items which defined different aspects of the alternatives for study and showed by a factor analysis that the Iowa score came out as a distinctive factor.

We do not view the reading achievement test as a measure of the child's I.Q. because it is very definitely influenced by culture. However, it is probably a very good test for assessing whether the child is being adequately prepared to deal with the middle class world he must enter if he is to gain any rewards from our social system. In other words, the cultural factor reflected by the test is something any child should learn if he is to do well in an industrial, technological society. There is no claim that middle class cluture patterns are intrinsically better than the working class patterns. However, we are saying that to run a technological industrial society we need a common language and that of the middle class currently serves better than that of the working class one to handle the problems of advanced technology. If a child is to reap greater rewards or wider options of occupational positions in our society, he stands a better chance if he learns the "middle class" language.

In Chapter 4 we began an analysis of the primary groups, considering first the neighborhood. We sought first to point out that the general conception we had of primary groups hid many possible types, of which two were the family and the neighborhood. We sought to point out that within the context of dealing with non-uniform events the neighborhood has some unique capacities which make it an important factor in achieving goals. As compared to relatives or non-neighboring friends, it is better able to deal with emergencies because of its physical proximity. At the same time, forms of socialization which take place through continuous but casual contact between people, as well as those forms of social behavior that are best learned by observing others, are better handled by the neighborhood because of proximity. The neighborhood, like kin and friend groups, can supplement the nuclear family unit (husband, wife, and small children) because that unit has very limited human resources (only two adults). Neighbors can provide more primary group type of information on child rearing, marital problems, clothing, home furnishing, etc. than the nuclear family, and they can also aid the nuclear family when it is incapacitated by illness or internal conflict. Thus a nuclear family buttressed by a neighborhood is in a better position to exercise the full powers of the primary group than one without such support. Furthermore, if our speculations are correct, much socialization takes place through contact where the people involved are not aware of the full limits of the exchange, and it should follow that a family may be very much influenced by its neighborhood milieu even when it is hostile or indifferent to it.

We began the analysis by looking at the zero order relations of major socioeconomic factors generally associated with reading achievement. We found the single most powerful factor was a school-neighborhood grouping. We split the population into four neighborhood groupings which we referred to as reading achievement normed neighborhoods. We showed that there was some interaction between these neighborhoods and family characteristics such as race, and education. We pointed out that white families were least disadvantaged by racial prejudice and favored by superior education in high normed neighborhoods. We suggested that in low normed neighborhoods most white families might be so pressed to meet minimal conditions of survival that they did not have an opportunity to utilize the advantages that education and less racial prejudice provided them. Negro families, all in the inner city, show effects of both discrimination and economic depreciation.

From this contextual analysis we proceeded to ask (Chapter 5) how the neighborhood actually influences people. We suggested that three mechanisms are at work: (1) selective recruiting procedures which means that only certain types of families are permitted in the neighborhood; (2) socialization of newcomers to the neighborhood norms, and (3) having procedures for expelling people who are deviant. We provided evidence that suggested all of these processes were in operation. We suggested that outer city schools always recruited better students than inner city schools and that was one reason why they were superior.

Secondly, we pointed out that the longer people were in a neighborhood, the more contact they had with their neighbors, the more they liked their neighborhood, and the more their neighbors watched over their children, the more likely the child was to adhere to the reading norms of that neighborhood. In the very low achievement normed neighborhood, this meant the more the parent was integrated into the neighborhood the worse the child did, but in the high achievement neighborhoods it meant just the opposite. Put somewhat differently, to have a well organized neighborhood may lead to poor readers where the norms of the neighborhood stress low achievement.

In Chapter 6 we sought to link the behavior of the parent in the neighborhood with that of the children. We did this by first pointing out that children in low achievement areas were more likely to belong to peer groups with negative norms towards education. The more children belonged to such peer groups the worse readers they were. We then went on to show that in any given neighborhood the extent to which the child belonged to a peer group depended on his mother's affiliations. Thus in the low achievement neighborhood, the more the mother was integrated into the neighborhood the more likely the child was to be involved with a negative peer group. In the high achievement neighborhood the more the mother was integrated into the neighborhood the less likely the child was to be involved with a negative peer group. We speculated that there might be a causal chain in which the parent's integration into the neighborhood acts as an encouraging device for the child to integrate into the peer group in the neighborhood which, in turn, influenced the child's reading grades.

In Chapter 7 we moved from this consideration of mechanisms to another general question about neighborhood structure. We asked ourselves how one characterizes the strength of a neighborhood. We suggested three criteria: The first was the extent to which the neighbors were in contact with each other and had a positive reference. Contact is a prerequisite for the use of the various mechanisms, i.e., socialization, etc. We found that high achievement neighborhoods in our sample had more contact among neighbors than low achievement ones. Secondly, we suggested that the amount of resources an area could bring to bear would make a difference. In this regard we pointed out that the high achievement had three pools of superior resources: income, educational level, and smaller families which generally meant more adult supervisory resources. In each of these cases we were careful to point out the importance of the milieu. One mother with a small family in a neighborhood is hampered if all the other mothers have large families. Her advantages in supervision is diminished by the lack of similar situations for the children with whom her child must interact.

Finally, we pointed out that a neighborhood could better act as a unit where people shared common problems, the important feature being not just that they were common but that they could help each other solve their problems. We pointed out that the higher normed neighborhoods were more likely to have families that were homogeneous with regard to the mother working, father's unemployment, number of children, and marital status of the spouse. The argument is that in the low achievement areas the families are so heterogeneous with regard to these issues that it is much more difficult to find a common body of problems around which they can cooperate. Finally, in Chapter 8 we pointed out that once the major consequence of prejudice were taken into account the racial balance of the school population made little difference in the reading achievement of the child.

With this, we moved to a consideration of the family in Chapter 9. The first point we sought to establish was the family's normative orientation toward education. We pointed out that the mother's educational aspirations for the child were related to the child's reading achievement. There was also a systematic difference between Negro and white families with Negro families having higher aspirations than whites of matching neighborhood and educational levels. We argue that this difference could be explained by the fact that the educational ladder was more open than the occupational one for the Negro. Because of prejudice, the Negro needed more education than the white to get the same job. Therefore, their higher educational aspirations are a realistic assessment of the situation. We pointed out in support of this view that the Negro parent did not have a higher occupational aspiration nor a higher educational expectation. The other major factor associated with educational aspirations of the mother was her own educational achievement and that of her neighbor's. The better educated the mother, the higher her aspiration for the child. Presumably, the better educated have greater know how and they can also see the long run economic advantage of education.

We next turned our attention to some of the mechanisms by which the family implements its norms. We pointed out in Chapter 10 that the amount of practice the family socialization procedures gave to the child in manipulation of verbal symbols the better the child would read. The argument was made that life consists of hundreds of daily interchanges with others. Where the mode of interchange is discussion, the individuals involved have practice in concept manipulation; where the mode of interchange is physical or non-explanatory the individuals have less practice. We pointed out in this reagrd that the families in the higher normed neighborhoods were more likely to utilize explanatory modes of socialization. Furthermore, these tended to relate positively to reading achievement of the child.

We suggested that the family might not be in a position to change its modes of interaction. In low income areas (because of poverty) the families do not have the extra time and energy that it takes to use explatory modes of socialization. Moreover, because they are poor, they do not have all the positive rewards which middle class families can use to control the child without force. Because they are poor they must also live among neighbors who are also poor and, in our achievement oriented society, poverty is frequently associated with violence. Even where the parents do not believe in the use of violence themselves, everyday contact with neighbors who are violent provides numerous counter examples to the child. It could not be expected that the child would not learn to handle himself physically in a situation where all those around use this as their major mode of response. This is especially true where the neighborhood may not have access to the agency which has legitimate use of force--the police. We provided evidence that the people in low income achievement areas were either more alienated from the police or there were not enough police in these areas. As a consequence, individuals were forced to use norms of private justice. The only alternative was some form of group protest. We provided evidence that at the time of our study group forms of protest were not used. There were a series of measures to show that individuals from low income areas were not only distant from the police but from most civic organizations in the community. As a consequence of all this, children in low income areas had countless encounters that socialized them to settle arguments by use of superior force. Unlike middle class children they were not given the everyday continuous practice in concept manipulations. This lack of practice leads to one-factor reasoning which puts them at a disadvantage in an educational system that places emphasis on multifactor reasoning--i.e., the consideration of many aspects of a problem.

In Chapter 11 we pointed out that it was not just the use of physical force which could restrict exchanges, but norms concerning the role of the child could also do so. Where an authoritarian norm was stressed in which the child's chief role was to obey, then we had the heteronomous situation which Piaget speaks about. The effect of undue stress on conformity was shown to lead to poor readers. On the other hand, extreme conflict had similar results. It was pointed out that freedom given to a child had to take place within a context of close parental supervision in order to lead to better readers. What seems to be required is a delicate balance which permits the child to make many dicisions on his own but where the parent is constantly around to insure that he makes no major blunders. This is not the complete freedom that one speaks about for adults but very much a "guided form of freedom." Again the point was made that this type of socialization assumes the parent has much time for socializing the child, an assumption which is less likely to be true for poor people.

In Chapter 12 we dealt with the theme of consistency of socialization. We pointed out that there are several sources of inconsistence: that which occurs where punishment is administered inconsistently by one person, and that which arises because of conflict between husband and wife. In general, our findings were that a moderate amount of inconsistency was related to highest reading scores. Radical inconsistency led to poor reading scores and complete consistency led to poor scores. We then showed that the amount of supervision was an important factor in its own right. The more the mother knew where the child was after school the better the child did.

Following this discussion we suggested that there were several ways that supervision of adults could be increased or decreased. For instance, the number of children in a family (after a certain point) would lead to a decrease in adult supervision. We found that families with five or more children generally had children with poorer reading scores. We then turned the point around and said supervision could be affected if we had the same number of children but fewer parents, that is, in single parent families. We found that in general this was true. However, the fact that children from small families who had only one parent were very close and in some cases superior in reading skills to those small families with two parents suggested that children from broken families might be doing worse because these families cannot provide a sufficient level of supervision rather than just because the father is absent. In this regard we were able to show that complete families that had marital problems sometimes had children who did much worse than families with only one spouse. Finally, as a last test of supervision, we asked what happened if families had available more adults for supervision than just husband and wife. We found in general that the more aid families received from relatives the better their children read.

We then proceeded to parallel for the family the analysis we had made for the neighborhood by examining its degree of integration as well as its normative orientation, and the findings were parallel. The family that had both close supervision and high aspirations produced a better reader than the family that had close supervision and low aspirations.

At this point, we turned (in Chapter 13) to still another aspect of family structure, the kind of knowledge base it provides for the child. We pointed out there were several kinds of knowledge. First, there was the knowledge which had to do with proper educational habits. We pointed out in this regard that the families which read books to their pre-school children had children who were better readers. This type of knowledge seemed most strongly related to the educational experiences of the parents and of their neighbors. Another kind of knowledge was knowledge about the educational bureaucracy, e.g., what kind of grades does it take to get into college. We found mothers who had this knowledge had children who read better. However, in this case knowledge was spread equally throughout our sample. We would argue it was so because the major source of knowledge here is the school system which can give it to all children. Finally, there is knowledge about the educational prerequisites for the occupational world. We found that this knowledge seemed to vary by neighborhood as well as by race. We suggested that this source of knowledge is very much a function of interaction on an equalitarian or superordinate level with people from different occupational groups. As such the low income people and the Negro families are systematically prevented from getting knowledge of higher level jobs.

In addition to this form of knowledge, we suggested that there was a kind of knowledge that related to an apprenticeship type of experience. People who went through college would have a much better idea of the way to get through school than people who had never attended. We suggested in this regard that children were exposed to a host of significant people. They were exposed to their mothers, their fathers, their grandparents, and their parents' siblings. In our sample a very substantial proportion had contacts with relatives at least once a week. We suggest that people benefited in one of two ways from having relatives with good education. They benefited indirectly through their choice of neighborhoods: the higher the education of the relatives the more likely people were to live in an outer city neighborhood. We think this relationship masks a complex interaction between people and their relatives to maintain some common status bonds. The neighborhood once chosen is a key factor in developing the child's reading skills. A second effect of well educated relatives is to provide the child with increased knowledge. Generally children with well educated relatives read better. There was a very important exception to this rule. Having a highly educated relative is not only a measure of more resources but it is a measure of one's social mobility. Thus a woman who has less education than her mother at a time when educational norms for the entire society have gone radically up must be considered to be downwardly very mobile. Similarly, a white man who has high education and is still living in the inner city must be considered to have either severe problems or no real stress on education. We pointed out that in cases such as these the children were likely to do more poorly. However, the major point of this chapter was to suggest how knowledge can be transmitted by exposure to key adults and this is one of the ways in which the family eventually effects the reading ability of the child.

In Chapter 14 we began the transition from the discussion of primary groups to the discussion of the bureaucratic organization. We pointed out that much of our prior evidence indicated that different groups had different social distances from the bureaucracy. We meant by social distance two distinctive things: first, a general normative emphasis on education; second, the ability to implement it. In this regard we pointed out the paradox in which the Negro family had higher educational aspirations than the inner city white but was frequently less able to implement them, because they had larger families, lower income, lived in neighborhoods with lower achievement norms, etc. We also pointed out in this connection that the highly educated white mother in the inner city who is oriented towards education might seek to avoid contact with her child's school. She could well argue that the best way of improving her child's education is to isolate herself and her child from the local school in anticipation of moving to a better one. The highly educated Negro because of prejudice does not have this option. We also suggested that the inner city Negro of high education might have much greater potential for change than the inner city white because the Negro is more likely to be living in the inner city solely because of racial prejudice. The inner city white was less likely to suffer from such cultural discrimination. For him to live in the inner city must be a consequence of deliberate choice, occupational failure, or some severe psychological or social breakdown.

In either case he might be operating more closely to his capacity than the Negro. We concluded the discussion by suggesting that in terms of accessibility to the school the outer city white was the most accessible, the inner city Negro was next most accessible, and the inner city white the least accessible.

From this initial discussion we then (in Chapter 15) moved to a discussion of linking mechanism. We suggested that to close social distance a linking mechanism must permit the organization to take maximum initiative, maintain a contact which has primary group intensity, and which permits the expert to meet face to face with the group which he is seeking to influence. We then listed 7 types of mechanisms--detached worker, settlement house, opinion leader, voluntary association, common messenger, mass media, and formal authority--and indicated how they could be evaluated on these underlying dimensions. This permitted us to say which of these mechanisms could close social distance and which keep it open. We then proceeded to describe in some detail the way we measured each of these mechanisms. We pointed out that we were not able to find any use of a really strong form of the detached worker or the settlement house mechanism. This was not a failure of our measurement instrument but was a fact of life--the schools just do not use strong forms. There is no reason why they couldn't. This had some serious consequence for testing our balance theory. We could not really test it where we had severely deviant families, because under our theory the only types of linkages which can reach such families are strong detached worker and settlement house mechanisms. Formal authority can also do so but we do not permit in our society the kinds of totalitarian authority which would be necessary to radically alter the behavior of a really deviant primary group. From our prior discussion of social distance, we had to acknowledge that we did indeed have some very deviant primary groups in our sample. We pointed out in addition that the most powerful forms of detached worker existed in only four inner city schools--the project schools. The power of these mechanisms was somewhat nullified by the fact that these four schools were in turn located in the lowest achievement normed neighborhood. The other schools with their weaker linking procedures did not have families which were as distant from the schools.

With these limitations, we proceeded in Chapter 16 with the first test of our linkage theory and by implication of the balance theory. We sought to determine whether the mechanisms which we said had highest initiative really were better able to reach deviant families than other mechanisms. We used as our first measure of linking mechanisms a rather gross one--the overall frequency of school community contact.

We found that in general the closer people were to the schools the more contact they had. Thus people from the outer city had more contact than matching groups from the inner city. The Negroes in the inner city had more contacts than the whites. The educated had more contacts than the poorly educated, the only exception being the highly educated inner city whites living in the lowest achievement normed neighborhoods. It was then pointed out that these relationships might be spurious. Where a child is bad, he might cause trouble which in turn means that the parent would be called in for the school. We would have more contact then associated with children who were in trouble. In order to deal with this problem of the "squeaky wheel," we located each child on two problem dimensions. First, we looked to see if he was a long term reading problem by using his reading scores from the fourth grade. Then we took the teacher's evaluation of his behavior. Children who were good readers in the fourth grade and were not behavior problems were thought to come from families which were closest to the schools, children who were good readers but behavior problems were thought to be next closest, and all others were considered to be more distant. It was felt that where a child was labeled a behavior problem when he had also been a good reader in the fourth grade, he must either be a recent problem or the behavior issue was minor. Using these behavior classifications, we found the same relations between school contacts and reading as described above. The families closer to the schools (children with no problems) had the most contact. There was one important exception. In the outer city we found the beginnings of the curvilinear relations we would have predicted from a balance theory. Outer city families which were very close did not have as much contact as those who were at a moderate distance. We felt that these findings were a rough confirmation of our linkage theory where we assumed that the linkages could not reach the most distant families.

This rough confirmation received more explicit verification when we examined the type of mechanisms used. We found that among the inner city Negro and the outer city white families the closer the families were to the schools the more passive the mechanisms they used. The ones at moderate distance tended to be linked by mechanisms where the school used great initiative. For those at great distance no mechanisms would reach them, (i.e. the inner city white). The high educated white avoided contact unless his child was in trouble. Furthermore, he avoided mechanisms which threw him into contact with other school parents.

The idea of the high status white in the inner city avoiding his local school was then analyzed within a general context. The point was made that wherever a group was a status minority in a neighborhood they would tend to avoid the passive linking mechanisms. The passive linking mechanisms generally brought families into contact with each other. If the minority family was of high status they would not want to join the group and if they were of low status they would not be accepted by the group. Our prior discussion of high educated whites in the low achievement areas was an instance of high status people avoiding passive linking mechanism. The general position was examined looking at racial majorities and minorities. We found that the same phenomenon appeared; the racial minority always made less use of passive mechanisms.

This meant that social distance cannot be defined in terms of a given family's relationship to the school. Family and neighborhood must be simultaneously considered if an accurate estimate of distance is to be made. These findings set the stage for the second test of the balance theory in Chapter 17. The question we now asked was whether the linkage mechanism was either able to increase the reading level of the child or help the child maintain his prior high levels. Thus we argued they were effective if they either increased reading skills or played a role in preventing their decrease. We used two measures of linkage. The first involved the absolute frequency of contact. We again found that the inner city white families--the most distant--were least able to use the linkages to maintain or increase the reading levels of their children. The groups which were at a moderate social distance--Negro inner and white outer city families--were best able to use linkage mechanisms to increase their children's reading skills. We similarly found that people in the lowest achievement areas of the inner city did not use linkage mechanisms as effectively as those in the higher area. Furthermore, the poorly educated were not as able to use them as effectively as the educated. When we instituted controls on the nature of educational problems that confronted the child we began to get evidence of "overpush" which balance theory would anticipate in the outer city. Thus the highly educated outer city whites who had children who were good students and not behavior problems were not as likely to have a positive relation between linkage mechanisms and reading scores as families whose children had minor problems in school.

In order to test our theories of linkages more closely, we then looked at the specific mechanisms. We found, as predicted, that in the outer city the families which were closest to the schools tended to utilize mechanisms which were passive and had low intensity in order to increase or maintain the reading skills of the child. Outer city families which were at a moderate distance had to use mechanisms which had more intensity and initiative if they were to increase or maintain the reading levels of the child. Outer city families which were very distant could not be reached by any of the mechanisms the school had available to them. The same pattern existed for the inner city Negroes. The inner city white departed somewhat from the pattern; those who were extremely distant from the school and those who on the "surface" were close (had children with no problems) had negative relationships between the use of linking mechanisms and reading skills of the child. We felt this might be a function of the fact that highly educated inner city families who had children without problems in school would have considerable incentive in our current social structure to isolate themselves from the school and seek to leave the neighborhood.

When we looked at a mechanism completely under the control of the family (opinion leader), we found its effectiveness related to neighborhood achievement norms. Speaking to neighborhood opinion leaders in low achievement neighborhoods is likely to lead to poor performance while speaking to them in high achievement neighborhoods is likely to lead to high performance. This item on opinion leadership ties in very directly to our prior analysis of neighborhood structure. We found that the item we used for mass media seemed to relate to reading scores somewhere in between the mechanisms controlled by the schools and those controlled by the neighborhood. Mass media was least effective in low achievement neighborhoods and most effective in the outer city neighborhoods. The one mechanism which did not work out in the manner anticipated and which in fact suggested counter evidence was the common messenger. However, we felt that in this case there was a measurement problem. There was only a small percentage of respondents who did not use this mechanism. We speculated that those not using the common messenger mechanism were extreme isolates from the school. This was a function of our operational definition, not something intrinsic to the mechanism itself. We felt the factor of isolation made it difficult to interpret this item. Before concluding we had negative evidence we would want to look at a multivariate analysis of all mechanisms to see if the positive relation of common messenger with reading scores really reflects other mechanisms.

In still another effort to test the balance theory we turned (Chapter 18) to the bureaucratic structure. We suggested that the atmosphere of the organization itself could be a linking mechanism. Where the organizations are very rationalistic--rules oriented, impersonal, hierarchical authority--they would tend to discourage parent-staff contacts which had a more primary group quality about them. Under a balance theory concept we argued that administrators would move in this direction where the population was too close whereas they would move in the opposite direction (collegial structure) where the population was too distant. We pointed out that schools in the outer city where the population was close were much more rationalistic than those in the inner city, where the families were at wide distances. The direction of this relationship was further certified by staff responses. The staff in the outer city wanted less contact while those in the inner city wanted more. In addition, where the schools had a deliberate policy to close social distance (project schools) they had the most collegial structure of all. Furthermore, the population in the outer city was generally much more aggressive towards bureaucratic organizations than those in the inner city. Their aggressiveness was therefore not triggered by the school but more likely to be the school's response triggered by their aggressiveness.

We then went on to argue that the very structure of the bureaucracy governs the type of mechanism which it can use to reach the community. Thus a rationalistic bureaucracy (hierarchical authority, rules oriented, emphasizing specialization, and impersonality) could not tolerate linking mechanisms which required just the opposite dimensions, e.g., detached worker. By contrast the collegial administrative structure would be less tolerant of linking mechanisms which stressed formality, rules orientation, and hierarchical authority--parent-teacher conferences, formalistic voluntary associations, etc. We brought two bodies of evidence to bear on this issue. First, we showed that teachers in rationalistic schools said contacts with parents were more formal, more likely to be covered by rules, and they did not want contacts on matters too distant from traditional child educational problems. Secondly, we showed that rationalistic structures were less likely to use linking procedures which involved home visits, which encouraged contact with neighborhood people while they, at the same time, encouraged contacts such as P.T.A. meetings, or contact which involved parents as a passive audience such as watching children's plays.

Finally, in Chapter 19 we pointed out that in our sample the differences in reading achievement of the child cannot be accounted for (in any obvious way) by differences in the following characteristics of staff: length of training, amount of advanced graduate work, professional attitudes toward's teaching, ways in which pupils were evaluated for promotion, the teacher student ratio, the newness of the physical building, or the race of the school staff. Even so, we speculated that these aspects of staff were important. However, we suggested that in our limited sample the problem was not that of equating staffs from low income areas with those from high income ones but the need to develop special teaching procedures in low income areas. The problems of low income areas are very different from those of high income areas and teachers should be trained accordingly. Therefore, for teachers in low income areas to have the same attitudes and procedures as those in high areas is in our opinion a serious defect. We offered some illustrative evidence along these lines. We pointed out that in both the high and low income areas teachers were equally likely to assign limited biological intelligence to children whom they felt would not graduate from high school. We suggested at best this represented teacher's biases rather than facts. The big difference in the two situations was that in the best outer city area teachers expected very few children to drop out from high school while in the inner city area it was over a third. Thus teacher's biases affect a much larger group in the inner city as compared to the outer one.

This completes a very rough summary of major points covered in this study. We sought to show how one must take into account primary groups, bureaucratic structures and their linkages if we are to have a proper understanding of the way in which school-community contact might affect the child's performance.

Perhaps the best summary of this position might be a simplified conceptual table (20-1). In this table we provide very rough classifications of each of our variables. The numbers in the table indicate the rough ranking of reading skills we would expect. In the first two columns of this table we have the various bureaucratic structures and the underlying dimensions which define linking mechanisms. We have included two additional types of bureaucratic structures other than those discussed in the main body of the report. The first, we call the professional and we feel it in fact comes closest to the way most schools in our sample were organized. These professional structures are organizations which use a collegial structure to deal with one set of problems (e.g., motivation of the child) while using a rationalistic style to solve another set (e.g., keeping attendance records). These two styles are kept from leading to internal conflict by some internal mechanisms of isolation. The second

Table 20-1

Hypothesis on the Relationship Between
Bureaucratic Structure, Linking Mechanisms,
Community Primary Groups and Reading Achievement

Bureaucratic Structure	Mechanisms of Coordination	Community Primary Groups Deviant Primary Groups	 Conforming Primary Groups	 Mixed Primary Groups[*]
Collegial	High initiative & high intensity	5[***]	3	3.5
Rationalistic	Low initiative & low intensity	3	5	3.5
Professional	Both high and low initiative and intensity	4	4	5
Collegial or Rathionalistic	Mismatched with either of the two structures[**]	2	2	2
Non-Merit Bureaucracy	Any linking mechanism	1	1	1

[*] An equal mixture of deviant and conforming primary groups.

[**] Rationalistic connected with high intensity mechanisms, or collegial connected with low intensity mechanisms.

[***] The higher the number the better reading skills predicted. These numbers are simple rankings for each column.

type of bureaucracy we have called a non-merit in that it is a bureaucratic organization where merit has been sufficiently violated as to question the organization's ability to implement its stated goals. We think these four administrative styles have five meaningful combinations with the linking mechanisms as follows: (1) Collegial combined with high initiative and high intensity mechanisms; (2) rationalistic combined with low intensity, low initiative mechanisms; (3) professional combined with both types of mechanisms; (4) mismatching of administrative style and linking mechanisms, and (5) non-merit bureaucracies with any linking mechanisms. For simplification we present three classes of community primary groups: (1) those deviant from organizational goals, (2) those conforming to organizational goals, and (3) those that are almost equally mixed, e.g., some conforming and some deviant. We now have in this conceptual Table 19-1 all the elements of the balance theory.

We would argue, using the balance hypothesis, that for dealing with deviant community primary groups the combination of collegial structure and high intensity, high initiative linking mechanisms would be best. The hypothesis is that the non-merit bureaucracy would generally be worse because by definition there will be no technical expertise. The rationalistic organization would be next in line because it is likely to lead to an unbalanced relationship, e.g., the primary groups will be very distant.

Using a somewhat parallel argument the balance theory would suggest that the rationalistic organization with low initiative and low intensity mechanisms would be best in situations where the community primary groups were conforming, and the professional organizational structure with both types of linking mechanisms would be best in situations where the community had an equal mixture of deviant and conforming primary groups.

The entire purpose of this study has been to put some flesh on the skeletal scheme presented here. In order to achieve this we have sometimes gone into great detail to define some of our variables. However, we would remind the reader that these excursions were not the main purpose of this study. The major purpose was to study the interaction between family, neighborhood, linking mechanisms, and bureaucratic structure. We would hope that we have opened up some new lines of inquiry so as to provide a more basic understanding of the functioning of our society.

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Appendix A

Organizational Bases for the Uses of Coercion, Legitimation, and Reference Power

In Chapter 1 of this report the argument was developed that bureaucratic organizations are a better base than primary groups when the events or problems require trained experts, while community primary groups are a better base when events or problems do not--i.e., when they involve limited knowledge so that the average citizen can master them as well as the expert can, or knowledge is so scarce that training does not give the expert any advantage, or the situation is so complex or idiosyncratic that the knowledge of the expert could not be brought to bear on the problem quickly enough to be effective. We used the term "non-uniform" to refer to any or all of these states where trained experts are of little use.

The purpose of this appendix is to show that the same line of reasoning holds not only for the supply of expertise but for other major modes of influence as well. This is why we hypothesize that bureaucratic organizations and community primary groups will generally have use for each other, viz., they have complementary sources of influence to offer in the solution of any problem.

Coercion as a Mode of Influence[1/]

The virtues and defects of two types of organization--family and bureaucracy--are illuminated when coercion as a mode of influence is examined. The question is whether the primary group or the bureaucratic organization is in a better position to coerce the individual, in what types of situation. A formal organization like the police is in a better position to train specialists in various aspects of crime detection, such as taking and cataloguing fingerprints, operating laboratory equipment for autopsies, and the like. These skills in turn provide the basis for deciding whether a person should be punished. What is basically being said here is that the formal organization can develop expertise in the coercive uses of punishment and in the detection of people to be punished. Insofar as this is the case, the logic of the analysis would be quite similar to the logic of that presented in the main body of the report, where we indicated the conditions under which the primary group and the bureaucratic organization can best exert influence.

In addition to its trained experts, coercive bureaucracies have superior manpower and economic resources. They have entire police forces at their disposal and can afford to maintain a regular arsenal of highly specialized weapons. The question therefore arises, under what circumstances can these superior resources be brought to bear effectively? In order to answer this question it is important to recognize that one of the key elements that distinguishes coercion as a form of influence is that people subject to it are either indifferent to or opposed to the wielder of authority. As a consequence, one of its chief defining characteristics is that the wielder of authority must have some way of observing the actions of the people being "coerced." In all other types of influence the individuals involved share goals with the wielder of authority, and for that reason it is not as necessary to keep them under surveillance.

In other words, the coercive mode of influence assumes an expedient orientation on the part of the recipient, and, where he is not in a position to be observed, he might well not respond in the way the influencer desires. Hence it can be argued that the more idiosyncratic and private--rather than public--the behavior, the more difficult it is for the professional to use his special skills and facilities. By contrast, in these private situations the primary group is in a better position to detect the behavior and to dispense punishment. This is clearly seen in the area of personal morality. It is very difficult if not impossible to convict a couple of adultery where they have willingly engaged in this activity. The nature of the event is so private that the law has no rationale or means for assigning people to watch each man and woman within a given age span. A similar problem arises in the area of political behavior when a government wants to avoid an incipient revolt by making sure all people believe the existing government to be the best possible one. Attitudes are difficult to determine or observe by ordinary policemen. The police power would be faced with the prospect of keeping close tabs on all the adult population during a considerable part of their waking hours.

In such situations, the primary group has an advantage. Its very structure prevents privacy among its members. Thus, it stresses face-to-face contact in all areas of life, which means continuous contact. It stresses positive affect and trust between members which both makes it a deviant act to withhold information from each other while, at the same time, removing obstacles for confiding in each other. The latter point is further reinforced by the non-instrumental and permanent character of the relationship so that individuals are not as liable to be removed from primary group membership even where they have committed deviant acts. Thus, the Chinese and Russian governments, when faced with the possibility of incipient revolts, utilized the family as an instrument for insuring proper social attitudes. They urged family members--especially children--to report deviant attitudes. The Nazi government did much the same thing during the height of World War II, when the problems of social control were maximal.(53)

More generally, there are about most crimes some "non-uniform" aspects. The dependence of the bureaucracy upon the community for effective suppression of deviant behavior can most clearly be seen in police work where the community refuses to cooperate. It is not only that offenses will not be reported but that once reported no witnesses will appear nor will any informants reveal where known offenders are hiding. The central role of the witness and the informant in the prosecution of offenders is the signal to the reader of the role of the primary groups. For the witness and the informer are not members of the bureaucracy but members of the community. They are governed by the demands of their respective primary groups. To the extent to which apprehension and punishment of offenders depends on them, the primary groups are involved in the enforcement of the law--i.e., in the coercive mode of influence. Their crucial role makes clear that no matter how large any given police force, it is not up to the job of keeping an eye on the bulk of the population and must, to be effective, depend on the cooperation of the primary groups.

To summarize, the argument is that when dealing with the "non-uniform" and the private area, the family or some other community primary group is in a better position than the formal organization to apply coercion, whereas the opposite would be true where the situation is public and uniform.

Legitimation as a Mode of Influence

Legitimation means that individuals obey some other person, or other persons in some particular role, because they have been socialized by their group to recognize the right of that other to "leadership" or authority. Thus, most people (including the children) accept the right of parents to discipline their children up to, say, early adolescence. Most societies recognize the right of husbands to have the major voice in making certain decisions, and of wives to have it in others. The question arises, under what circumstances is a bureaucratic organization in the better position to utilize this group norm type of influence.

To answer this question we would point first to two aspects of bureaucracies--their technical expertise and their capacity to reach a large audience through superior resources, manpower, capital goods, etc. Thus, the bureaucracy's advantages in using group norms are typically those advantages attributed to the mass media --i.e., information can be disseminated over wide areas, and be directed by the most able experts in propaganda, public opinion, or "educational enlightenment." In respect to the advantages which accure to the bureaucracy as a function of technical expertise, we have already suggested (in the main body of the report) a whole series of instances--those we call "non-uniform" in which trained experts are not important and therefore in which the primary group is superior to the bureaucracy. As a consequence, in this discussion we will concentrate on the bureaucracy's advantages that occur because of superior manpower, capital goods, etc.

To relate legitimation to the superior resources of the bureaucracy (money, capital goods, manpower, etc.), it is necessary to understand that there are different levels of group norms, depending on the nature of the social unit. Thus, one can speak of group norms that hold for a total society, as well as those that are unique to a particular family primary group. For instance, we have a norm in our society which says that the mother is the chief agent of early socialization of the child. However, there might be considerable variation among families as to how this norm is maintained. In one family, the "tradition" may be that the mother turns over the severe spankings to the father, while in another family the norm may be that the father handles the light discipline but the mother the heavy. In one family, the mother and father might both read to the pre-school child, while in another only the mother might do this. Thus, within the general normative statement there is much room for interpretation. Given this ambiguity, any family might develop within the general norm its own specific tradition.

Readers, even though agreeing that this argument has some face validity, might still say we have not established the case "in principle," i.e., whether in principle ambiguity will always exist in societal norms. We would argue that norms are social rules for dealing with standardized issues which confront most people in the society. Obviously, we cannot have norms for events that the society has not anticipated. We suggest that social norms, in order to have any applicability, must be very general in character. The more diverse the society (e.g., a technologically advancing society), the more general the norms; conversely, the more homogeneous the society, the more specific the norms. To put it somewhat differently, norms that are suitable for the total society cannot specify the 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week detail for early socialization of the child. The circumstances of each family vary too much for the rules to be spelled out in such detail and still be meaningful to all families in our society. The best that can be hoped for are generalized rules. Thus we would argue that in principle, norms as modes of influence for the total society can only deal with those aspects of a situation which are common to and shared by the total society. That which is unique, that which is unanticipated, or that which is so complex as to prevent the ready use of generalized knowledge, would not be governable by norms which seek to apply to the total society.

We have now made two points. First, we have argued that the meaning of norms varies with the nature of the social unit, i.e., one can speak of norms which characterize a whole society as well as of norms that are unique to sub-units in the society. The second point is that in principle, norms applicable to the total society cannot deal with the unique or idiosyncratic circumstances of sub-groups, such as family or neighborhood primary groups.

These two arguments taken together now permit us to say under what conditions primary groups are most effective in using legitimation, and under what conditions bureaucratic organizations are. If the chief virtue of the bureaucratic organization is its ability to reach many different primary groups, then its advantages accrue only in those situations where the norms are fairly widespread--i.e., deal with aspects of the problem that are uniform throughout society. It has no advantage when it comes to enforcing norms that are idiosyncratic to a given family or in what we have called idiosyncratic situations. In fact, in the latter instance we would argue, as we argued in the main body of our study, that the bureaucratic structure is basically inefficient when it comes to dealing with the "non-uniform" situations.

We would now reiterate what we said earlier in the text, that most group norms have both uniform and non-uniform aspects. Thus, the effective use of "legitimation" as a type of influence, or form of power, requires the close working together of bureaucratic organizations and the primary groups--the first to deal with the uniform aspects of life, the latter with the non-uniform ones.

Reference Power as a Mode of Influence

Reference orientation or personal "attraction" is a mode of influence whereby people are persuaded by another person because they find him attractive, i.e., they have a positive reference orientation toward him. This type of influence differs in at least one important respect from legitimation. There is no need with reference orientation to restrict applicability to issues which society has anticipated in advance. The response to any unanticipated event is to do what the attractive individual proposes.

However, this mode of influence--like legitimation--can also be exerted at the level of either a small group or the total society. When we speak about this type of influence at the societal level, we refer to the "charismatic leader," the "man on a white horse," the "great man," etc. In our immediate past, it is not hard to find individuals to whom this quality was attributed, e.g., Roosevelt and Eisenhower in the United States; Churchill, Hitler, and Stalin in Europe. It is not difficult to discern that the same principle of personal attractiveness also enables individuals to exert influence at the interpersonal level. In fact, the term "reference group" has almost exclusively been applied to interpersonal situations.(52)(69). Thus, Lippitt et al point out that children at camp are influenced (in terms of their mode of dress and manner of speech and behavior) by the leaders of their group often without even realizing it.(52) Classic in this regard is influence exercised in love relations.

Granted that this form of influence may take place at an interpersonal as well as a societal level, here again, what are the unique virtues of the bureaucratic organization as compared to the primary group? Again we propose that one of the advantages of the bureaucracy for implementing this type of influence is its capacity to recruit experts to develop and project the referent power of a given individual. As we have already suggested, the value of professional experts, and therefore of the bureaucracy, is limited to the "uniform" aspects of the issue or event, while the primary group remains more effective in the "non-uniform" ones. The other advantage of the bureaucracy is, once more, its ability to reach a much wider audience than the primary group can. As we argued in respect to legitimation, this mass media advantage only accrues to the bureaucracy when it deals with events which are common to large numbers of people. The bureaucracy is not efficient in attempting to reach special groups, for the mass media become progressively less efficient the more they must devise special messages for various sub-groups. As media, their effectiveness in reaching large numbers of people rests on the assumption that these people have some elements in common. Let us illustrate this with a hypothetical example.

When Eisenhower was president there were those who suggested that he was attractive to many because he conveyed the image of a kindly, all-knowing father. If this "kindly father figure" were to have laid down a pronunciamento that education is a desirable attribute and that all parents should see to it that their children do not drop out of high school, he might indeed have caused parents who were previously unconcerned to turn their attention to keeping their children in school. However, the problems of keeping children in high school are various and unique from family to family--in one case the mother may have a husband available for support, while in another she may not; the child might be motivated to leave high school because of an opportunity to make what looks like a great deal of money, or he might leave because of a sense of invidious class distinction; in one case the child might be bright, in another he might not; etc.; etc.; etc. Eisenhower, the father figure, could not have dealt with all of these idiosyncratic problems in his message, for it would then have been too long, too tedious, too inapplicable for any given family--even had he had sufficient information to know what these problems were (a highly unlikely circumstance).

Therefore, we would say the reference figure could have have given a general mandate for action, leaving open the details for implementing this action. It is at this point that local reference figures may play a significant role. Thus, a mother might ask an admired neighbor (who knows her problems or can readily be made familiar with them) to give her advice, or she might be moved by the mass media reference figure to seek out a prestigious relative for help in meeting the problem.

We would say insofar as this local referent figure is a member of a primary group (i.e., friendship, family, kin, or neighborhood), that its very structure would provide him with an advantage in dealing with the idiosyncratic circumstances of the individual. The primary group referent leader by definition is in face-to-face contact with the person he is influencing. In addition, he sees him continuously (in many different areas of life) and has a long-standing relationship. As a consequence, primary group reference figures are in a good position to provide guidance explicitly tailored to the idiosyncratic needs of the person he is influencing.

We have now made two points with regard to reference power. First, the bureaucracy's advantages are restricted to technical expertise and the capacity to reach a large audience. Second, the bureaucracy is not as effective as the primary group in dealing with idiosyncratic or complex situations. Since we have argued that most problems in life contain both common and idiosyncratic elements or aspects, we would also argue that the use of reference power is maximized where bureaucratic organizations and key primary groups work together.

In summation, we have developed the thesis that a bureaucratic organization is a more effective basis not only for supplying expert knowledge, but for coercion, effective legitimation, and referent power when uniform events are being dealt with, whereas a primary group is more effective when non-uniform events are at issue. Most events, or problems, have both uniform and non-uniform aspects, and as a consequence most problems are best solved when bureaucratic organizations and primary groups work in conjunction.

Appendix A

Footnote

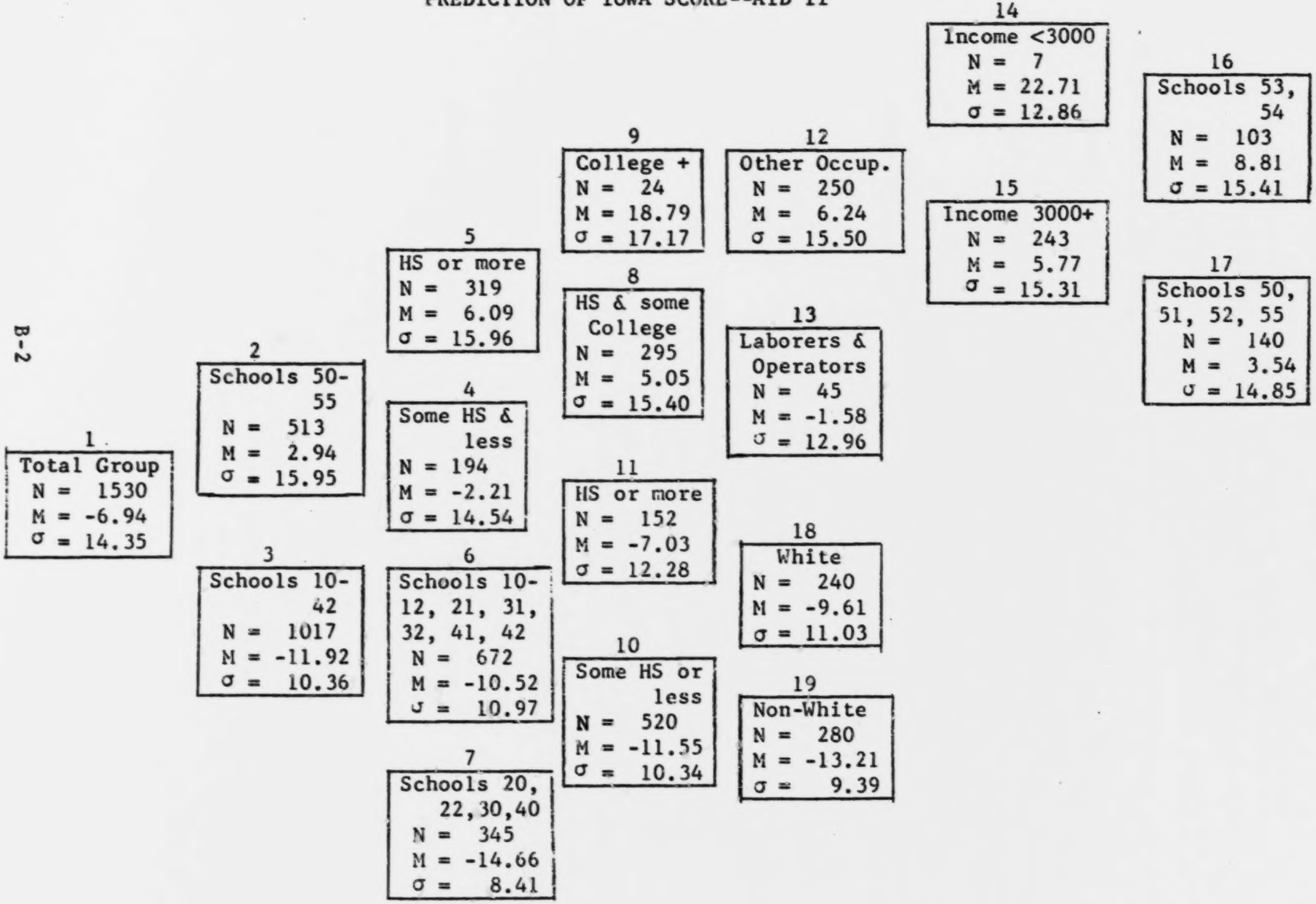
1. This analysis is a revision and elaboration of the arguments developed in (58).

APPENDIX B

BACKGROUND PREDICTIONS OF IOWA SCORES USING THE AID II COMPUTER PROGRAM

Prepared by
Shimon Spiro

PREDICTION OF IOWA SCORE--AID II


1
Total Group
N = 1530
M = -6.94
σ = 14.35
2
Schools 50-55
N = 513
M = 2.94
σ = 15.95
3
Schools 10-42
N = 1017
M = -11.92
σ = 10.36
5
HS or more
N = 319
M = 6.09
σ = 15.96
4
Some HS & less
N = 194
M = -2.21
σ = 14.54
6
Schools 10-12, 21, 31, 32, 41, 42
N = 672
M = -10.52
σ = 10.97
7
Schools 20, 22,30,40
N = 345
M = -14.66
σ = 8.41
9
College +
N = 24
M = 18.79
σ = 17.17
8
HS & some College
N = 295
M = 5.05
σ = 15.40
11
HS or more
N = 152
M = -7.03
σ = 12.28
10
Some HS or less
N = 520
M = -11.55
σ = 10.34
12
Other Occup.
N = 250
M = 6.24
σ = 15.50
13
Laborers & Operators
N = 45
M = -1.58
σ = 12.96
18
White
N = 240
M = -9.61
σ = 11.03
19
Non-White
N = 280
M = -13.21
σ = 9.39
14
Income <3000
N = 7
M = 22.71
σ = 12.86
15
Income 3000+
N = 243
M = 5.77
σ = 15.31
16
Schools 53, 54
N = 103
M = 8.81
σ = 15.41
17
Schools 50, 51, 52, 55
N = 140
M = 3.54
σ = 14.85

BACKGROUND PREDICTOR OF IOWA SCORES--AID II

Actual Break, Alternative Breaks on the Same Variable, and Possible Breaks on Other Variables, by Parent Group

Group I (Total sample)

		BSS
Actual Break:	By schools, inner vs. outer city	75,456.2
Alternative Breaks:	(1) Add school 12 to outer city	71,332.3
	(2) Add school 51 to inner city	67,034.8
Other Variables:	Race (white vs. non-white)	46,320.1
	Education (HS or more vs. some HS or less)	39,638.0
	Income (cut at $6,000)	34,808.2
	Region (South & border vs. all others)	33,659.7
	Occupation (operators, laborers, and no information)	29,118.4
	Welfare or not	21,853.5
	Semesters (cut at 12 semesters)	13,758.0

Group II (Outer City)

Actual Break:	By education (HS or more vs. some HS or less)	8,319.1
Alternative Breaks:	(1) Break off college grads only	6,320.7
	(2) Break off some college or more	6,253.1
Other Variables:	Schools (53 & 54 vs. others)	5,339.7
	Occupation (blue vs. white collar)	5,242.0
	Income (break at $10,000)	2,659.3
	Region (border vs. all others)	1,519.3
	Semesters (break at 2 full semesters)	1,248.0

Group IV (Outer City, Some HS or Less)

This group could not be split

		BSS
Possible Breaks:	Region (foreign and Northeast vs. others)	1,560.5
	Semesters (cut at 2 full semesters)	1,229.5
	Occupation (professional, clerical, and services at top)	1,078.6
	Rural-urban (native Detroiters vs. others)	987.0
	Schools (50, 53, 54 vs. others)	673.5

Group V (Outer City, HS or More)

Actual Break:	Education (college grads)	4,188.4
Alternative Break:	Some college or more	2,690.1
Other Variables:	Schools (53 & 54)	2,996.5
	Occupation (profs., sales, managers vs. all others)	2,930.7
	Income (break at $3,000 or at $10,000)	1,590.5
	Region (border vs. all others)	1,377.3

Group IX (Outer City, College Graduates)

No further work done on this group

Group VIII (Outer City, High School, and Some College)

Actual Break:	Occupation (laborers and operators)	2,335.5
Alternative Break:	(Professionals, sales, and managers)	1,912.3
Other Variables:	Income (break at $3,000)	1,134.9
	Schools (54 & 53)	1,817.9
	Region (border)	1,094.2

Group XIII (Outer City, HS and Some College, Laborers and Operators

This group was not split

		BSS
Possible Breaks:	Region (mixed)	1,325.6
	Rural-urban (lived on farm)	358.4
	Income (at $7,000)	235.2

Group XII (Outer City, HS & Some College, not Laborers or Operators)

Actual Break:	Income (at $3,000)*	1,952.6
Alternative Break:	None	
Other Variables:	School (54 & 53)	1,106.2
	Occupation (professions and sales)	1,012.3
	Welfare*	721.9
	Husband (no husband = high mean)*	553.3
	Education (college grads)	414.9

Group XIV (Outer City, HS and Some College, not Laborers or Operators but Income of Less than $3,000)

No further work done on this group

Group XV (Outer City, HS and Some College, not Laborers or Operators but Income of $3,000 or more)

Actual Break:	Schools (53 & 54)	1,643.7
Alternative Break:	(1) Add school 52 to 53 & 54)	1,361.9
	(2) 54 alone	1,273.6
Other Variables:	Occupation (professions and sales)	1,022.6

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* Direction contrary to prediction.

Group XVI (Schools 53 & 54, HS & Some College, not Laborers or Operators, but Income of $3,000+)

This group was not split

		BSS
Possible Break:	(1) Semesters (cut at 7)	1,300.0

Group XVII (Other Outer City Schools, HS & Some College, Not Laborers or Operators, but Income of $3,000+)

Possible Breaks:	Occupation (professional and sales)	1,086.5
	Semesters (cut at 4)	744.1
	Region (foreign & Michigan)	544.6
	Income (cut at $10,000)	541.6

Group III--Inner City

Actual Break:	Schools 20, 40, 22, 30 as lowest	3,898.9
Alternative Break:	(1) Schools 20, 40, 22, 30, 31.	3,644.7
	(2) Schools 20, 40, 22, 30, 31, and 10	3,516.9
	(3) Schools 20, 40, 22 only	3,514.3
Other Variables:	Education (HS or more)	2,965.4
	Race (white vs. non-white)	2,860.3
	Income (cut at $6,000 or $4,000)	2,524.9
	Welfare	2,516.6
	Husband	1,323.1
	Semesters (cut at 12)	1,223.2
	Region (South & Northeast lowest, border among high)	1,038.1

Group VII--Schools 20, 40, 22, 30

This group was not split

Possible Splits:	Education (college grads)	1,069.8
	Welfare	410.8

Group VI--Schools 10-12, 21, 31, 32, 41, 42

Actual Break:	Education (HS or more)	2,395.8
Alternative Break:	Some college	1,330.6

Group VI--Schools 10-12, 21, 31, 32, 41, 42 (continued)

		BSS
Other Variables:	Income (cut at $4,000 or $6,000)	1,892.1
	Semesters (cut at 6, 7, 8, or 9)	1,771.7
	Race	1,339.8
	School (12 higher than the rest)	1,311.5
	Welfare	1,026.3

Group XI--Schools 10-12, 21, 31, 32, 41, 42 (HS or more)

Possible Breaks:	Semesters (cut at 13)	1,100.7
	Region (foreign & Detroit high)	927.2
	Income (cut at $6,000)	783.4
	Occupation (skilled and semi-skilled lowest)	744.0
	Rural-urban	641.4
	Sex (male higher)	620.0

Group X--Schools 10-12, 21, 31, 42, 41, 42 (some HS or less)

Actual Break:	Race (white vs. non-white)	1,673.7
Alternative Break:	(Negro)	1,633.9
Other Variables:	School (12 vs. all others)	1,184.0
	Income (cut at $3,000)	1,111.8
	Semesters (cut at 6)	1,013.1
	Region (North Central, border, & Detroit highest)	957.0

Group XVIII--Schools 10-12, 21, 31, 32, 41, 42 (less than full HS, White)

Possible Breaks:	Schools (21, 11, 12 highest)	1,101.8
	Region (border, North-Central, South, & Michigan lowest)	1,036.0

Group XIX--Schools 10-12, 21, 31, 32, 41, 42 (less than full HS, Negro)

Possible Breaks:	Schools (10, 31, & 11 lowest)	739.1
	Occupation (laborers lowest)	490.9
	Income (at $6,000)	471.1

BACKGROUND PREDICTOR OF IOWA SCORES--FIRST RUN OF AID II

Contributions of Different Variables to the Reduction of Unexplained Variance:

Schools	$Beta^2 = .26$
Education	$Beta^2 = .06$
Occupation	$Beta^2 = .01$
Income	$Beta^2 = .01$
Race	$Beta^2 = .01$
	$R^2 = .35$

Note: The $Beta^2$ coefficient for any one prediction is very sharply affected by the presence of other predictors, which took precedence in the structure of the tree.